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DICKENS' *Christmas Carol* AFTER A HUNDRED YEARS:

A Study in Bibliographical Evidence

By PHILO CALHOUN and HOWELL J. HEANEY[1]

YOU will be haunted,' resumed the Ghost, 'by Three Spirits.'" Thus Marley's Ghost to the trembling Scrooge. He might well have been speaking to every one of a bibliographical turn of mind who, at any time during the past sixty years or so, has sat in front of his Christmas fire warming his soul with what he has been firmly assured is a first edition of *A Christmas Carol,* by Charles Dickens. It is a little book of one hundred and sixty-six pages, in a simple brown cloth binding, with a gay title-page and some hand-colored illustrations. It is dated 1843, the year of publication, or possibly 1844.

Of course for the moment his bibliographical interest will be submerged in the book itself. For one may read *Les Miserables* on a park bench in Paris or *Quentin Durward* in Tours or the *Sonnets* with one's feet in the Avon, or *Stones of Venice* while sitting on one of them, but there is no satisfaction quite equal to that of reading

[1] This paper was written by Mr. Calhoun, who is so deeply indebted to Mr. Heaney for most of the painstaking research, which made it possible, as to be sure that the modest distinction of co-authorship is rightly his. Part of the paper is adapted from an unpublished address by Mr. Calhoun at a meeting of the Grolier Club of New York City on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the publication date of the *Carol.*

the *Carol* at Christmas time, in any edition. Even after a hundred years, it is still an essential part of the holiday in thousands of families, even if the book is no longer, as Dickens delightedly wrote to one of his friends that first January, "kept by itself on a separate shelf."

And one may properly presume to add a touch of zestful flavor even to a perfect Christmas pudding, thinks our bibliophile, by way of reading this story from the same manner of volume over which those first eager owners were laughing and crying the week before Christmas, a hundred years ago; the same form of book which the Inimitable himself might have read, in his own home, holding it in his very hand. The which, our friend may be moved to conclude as he closes the back cover, I have this day done.

Alas! for the frailty of human ambition. Why should the spirit of mortal be proud, and all the rest of it. It may, as in the story itself, be in just retribution for the sin of covetousness, it may be in proper penance for trying to gild the lily, but somehow, somewhere, for that man the bibliographical clock will sound its "deep, dull, hollow, melancholy ONE," and he will commence to be haunted. First by the three major spirits: (1) The *title-page* —is it red and blue or red and green? dated 1843 or 1844? (2) *The heading of the first chapter*—is it Stave I? Gothic or Roman type? Or Stave One? (3) *The end-papers*—green or yellow? Then by a host of subsidiary goblins: the color of the binding; the type differences; the date of publication; the number of copies in the first issue; the proof sheets; the made-up variants; all the many little ghostly conjectures without corporal substance which have somehow, with the passing of years, grown into full-bodied bibliographical haunts. It is chiefly in the hope of exorcising some of these spectres, and of explaining others, thereby making happier Christmases for all *Carol* collectors, that this paper is written.

There is a story behind the writing and the publication of this book, which will bear re-telling, first, because it is a fascinating

tale in itself, and secondly, and chiefly, because it sheds light on more than one of the bibliographical problems which I shall discuss.

If the truth must be told, our little volume had an obscure, in fact a rather sordid, ancestry. Which should not be at all shocking, inasmuch as it follows a formula for greatness emphasized in all biographical literature from the New Testament to Horatio Alger. It is unthinkable to have a president of the United States who has not sold newspapers, preferably penny ones on street corners, although the *Saturday Evening Post* on bicycles has been accepted. The glamor of the log cabin and the barefoot boy never loses its appeal. The manger and the swaddling clothes add warmth and drama even to the story of the Founder of the Feast.

It was a dull sort of year, 1841. Victoria had been four years on the throne. There were no wars in progress and none on the horizon. The burning political question of the hour was whether or not the Queen could retain her Ladies of the Bedchamber as a matter of constitutional right. There was wide unemployment and extreme hardship among the poor, but hardly anyone paid any attention to it. The Era of the Common Man was still far in the future. A serious crisis in government finances seems to have been adequately corrected by an income tax of seven pence to the pound—about three per cent. The Golden Age of Literature was underway, but nobody knew it. Charles John Huffam Dickens was twenty-nine years old.

Our story properly begins one hazy afternoon in the late summer of that undistinguished year—Tuesday the 7th of September, to be exact. The scene is the chambers of one John Forster in a building in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Dickens never particularly liked either the house or the apartment. He pokes grand fun at them in *Bleak House* where the whole set-up is described as the dwelling-place of Mr. Tulkinghorn. Let him set the scenery: "It is let off in sets of chambers now; and in these shrunken fragments of its greatness, lawyers lie like maggots in nuts. But its

roomy stair-cases, passages and ante-chambers still remain; and even its painted ceilings, where Allegory, in Roman helmet and celestial linen, sprawls among balustrades and pillars, flowers, clouds and big-legged boys, and makes the head ache .... Rusty, out of date, withdrawing from attention, able to afford it. Heavy broad-backed old-fashioned mahogany and horse-hair chairs, not easily lifted; obsolete tables with spindle legs and dusty baize covers .... A thick and dingy Turkey carpet muffles the floor ... two candles in old-fashioned silver candlesticks .... The titles on the backs of his books have retired into the binding ...."

From here on we can draw on our imagination a bit without doing violence to the known facts. Forster is seated at one of the "obsolete tables," ponderously and painstakingly going over a somewhat lengthy document. Across the table is a portly and benevolent gentleman who seems the only one of the party who is getting any particular pleasure out of the occasion. This is Chapman, of the well-known publishing house, of whose authors Dickens was then the particular shining light. Hovering nearby is Chapman's partner, "the little Hall," often thought to be the original of Pecksniff, and looking the part. Dickens describes him in connection with this very meeting as "morally and physically feeble, although perfectly well-intentioned." The firm had reason not to take too much for granted in dealing with their temperamental client. In the first place, he owed them nothing. They had never been in the position of gambling on a poor and unknown author. Their first contract, for the publication of *Pickwick*, was made only after the popularity of the author of *Sketches by Boz* seemed well assured. In the next place, their author was a well-proven gold mine of seemingly inexhaustible possibilities. *Pickwick* and *Nickleby* were still yielding a gratifying competence, and *Master Humphrey's Clock* was going very well indeed. And in the last place their permanent title to this treasure was by no means secure. Dickens had already gone off the reservation at least once, in producing *Oliver Twist* through another publisher. So

when he had bounced into his publisher's office with Forster a fortnight before this meeting (Saturday, August 21) and announced that the weekly numbers of the *Clock* were wearing him down, and that when publication of *Barnaby Rudge* in that form was completed in November he wanted what amounted to a year's leave with pay, Chapman and Hall were prepared to coöperate, and the contract prepared as a result of that conference is the document Forster is poring over on this September afternoon.

We may be sure that the Inimitable Boz himself is wandering nervously about the apartment, impatient as always of legal formalities, particularly impatient now, having just come up from his beloved Broadstairs to be faced with this stuffy contrast.

"Hall," says Forster, "what does this clause mean? We said nothing about reducing the monthly payments if the book doesn't sell." Chapman, benevolence slightly frustrated, looks at his partner. Little Hall rubs his palms reassuringly. "Oh, Mr. Forster, you know these lawyers. They've got to do something to earn a fee. Of course that provision will never be needed. Mr. Dickens need have no concern on that score." So the contract is signed, and Boz makes his escape into the sunshine and takes a lot of deep breaths, glad the thing is over and done with, delighted at the prospect of doing nothing, or practically nothing, for a whole year, and getting well paid for it. £150 a month drawing account until a new book was started late in 1842. £200 a month during the publication of it. No more weekly parts. *Master Humphrey's Clock* to stop ticking almost immediately and be relegated to the lumber room. Relaxation. Travel. Lectures. No financial problems. A continuous bathing in the bright waters of well-merited fame. It was scarcely a month later that he began to plan for his trip to America. Less than four months later he sailed. Pleasant. Very, very pleasant.

And yet, without knowing it, he had in subscribing to that seemingly splendid arrangement, planted a seed from which was to grow dissension, distrust, anger and greed, but finally also, as if

through some magical metamorphosis, *A Christmas Carol.*

It is June of 1843. Dickens is getting worried. A long holiday has used up surplus funds. The Devonshire Terrace house is proving very expensive. More children are coming along. Bills are mounting and unpaid. To be sure, no debtor's prison looms, but the horror of his childhood experience is still too vivid to be entirely absent from his thoughts. *Martin Chuzzlewit,* publication of which had commenced in January, was going badly. It was selling at the rate of about twenty-three thousand copies, as against fifty thousand for *Pickwick* and seventy thousand for the *Old Curiosity Shop.*[2] Even the announcement of Martin's projected translation to America, a change in the story designed solely to promote sales, failed to revive a flagging interest on the part of the Gentle Reader. The final blow came toward the end of June, after the appearance of the sixth monthly part. The little Hall, also deeply concerned, told Dickens in none too tactful a way, that unless sales improved, the firm would be compelled to take advantage of that saving clause in its 1841 contract, and reduce the author's monthly drawing account by £50. Dickens promptly went through at least two ceilings, the roof, and well into mid-air. He fulminates to Forster[3] in an almost hysterical vein, wants to terminate immediately his relations with Chapman and Hall, listens with ill-concealed distaste to the voice of caution and expediency.

All that summer he tries to devise a way out. How or just when the idea of a Christmas story first occurred to him is not wholly clear, but it is a fair conclusion from three letters to Macvey Napier of the *Edinburgh Review* written in September and October of 1843, that serious work on the *Carol* was not commenced until sometime between the seventeenth and twenty-fourth of October in that year.[4] According to Forster, writing was continued

[2] Hugh Kingsmill Lunn, *The Sentimental Journey; a Life of Charles Dickens,* by Hugh Kingsmill [pseud.] (London, Laurence, 1934), p. 131.

[3] Charles Dickens, *The Letters of Charles Dickens,* edited by Walter Dexter. The Nonesuch Dickens (Bloomsbury, The Nonesuch Press, 1938), Vol. I, pp. 526-527.

[4] Dickens, *Letters.* Nonesuch Edition (Bloomsbury, 1938), Vol. I, pp. 539, 540, 543, 562.

in "such odd moments of leisure as were left him out of the time taken up by the two numbers of his Chuzzlewit," and was completed before the end of November.[5]

The main object of writing the book, and of planning it with a view to immediate publication, was apparently money—quick money—easy money—plenty of money—to pay bills, to keep up an unaccustomed scale of living, to travel, to be generally comfortable.

It is not surprising that such a background has been used more than once as a text to belittle both the book and its author. The writing has been called careless, the plot, childish. One biographer goes so far as to suggest a sort of Freudian analogy in a story which exploits the conquest of greed and frustration through the medium of magic.[6]

So far as the composition goes, one has only to look at the manuscript, or one of the two published facsimiles of it, to appreciate the painstaking manner of its composition. Time after time, on every page, the writer has added and deleted, corrected and redrafted, in a way which effectively denies the suggestion that the completed work represented less than his best effort.

On the other hand, it seems clear enough that the background and purpose which we have discussed had a good deal to do with the plot of the book, although not in the way Lunn suggests. As a matter of fact, the plot was lifted almost bodily, Tiny Tim and all, from *Pickwick Papers*. You may find it, if you own a first published edition of that work, on page 299, in the *Story of Gabriel Grubb*. To complete the analogy, the very title itself, "A Christmas Carol," appears two pages earlier in the same book. It was not too difficult to expand in the course of a few weeks a plot all but predigested, and such a seasonal book afforded a basis for concentrated sales with reference to a date in the near future. A

[5] *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 548; John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens*, edited by J. W. T. Ley (New York: Doubleday [c. 1928]), p. 299.

[6] Kingsmill Lunn, *The Sentimental Journey* (London, 1934), p. 133.

Christmas story must be marketed just before Christmas while the spirit of the season is in full swing.

Although all of this fitted in admirably with the quick profit motive, there is a rather warming inconsistency in the author's concern about the form of the book; the more so, as under the curious arrangements for publication, probably due to the Chapman and Hall controversy, Dickens was to pay all expenses and receive all profits. Expensive details like gilt edges, a title-page in two colors, and hand-colored plates, were his choice and his sole gamble. He was in effect his own publisher, and perhaps there was a certain pride involved in assuming this novel role. One would like to think also that the subject-matter of the book had something to do with all this fancy dress, and probably it had. At any rate it was bad business from the angle of profits, which, because of this very extravagance, were depleted to a point well below Dickens' estimate of £1000. The first six thousand copies netted him £230;[7] his gain from the entire venture to the end of 1844 was £726.[8]

This very inconsistency between high-pressure writing to make a market, and the almost loving care and certainly generous provision for the format of the book, has its counterpart in the contrast between Dickens' avowed commercial purpose and his attitude toward the story as it neared completion. Granted that it was conceived in greed and dissension, in sin, if you will, its writing seems to have sweetened, for a time, at least, Dickens' whole outlook on life, just as it has brought a new vision to many another "grasping, grinding, covetous old sinner." If the author was something of an unregenerate Scrooge in October, he seemed far otherwise some weeks later, when, as he himself records, he "wept over it, and laughed and wept again and exerted himself

[7] Letter to Forster, February 10, 1844, in: Dickens, *Letters*. Nonesuch Edition (Bloomsbury, 1938), Vol. I, p. 567.

[8] Arthur Waugh, *A Hundred Years of Publishing; Being the Story of Chapman and Hall, Ltd.* (London, Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1930), pp. 66-67.

in the most extraordinary manner in the composition; and thinking whereof he walked about the black streets of London, fifteen or twenty miles, many a night when all the sober folk had gone to bed." These are Dickens' own words about his own reactions to the writing of the *Carol*.[9]

A good deal of the bibliographical evidence which we shall consider must be weighed in the light of this background. The time factors involved in writing, printing, binding, preparing plates, hand-coloring, distributing and marketing, all in a period of less than two months, the problems of an author torn between motives of gain, pride, impatience and sentiment, and yet obliged to make quick decisions in the unfamiliar field of publishing, all of these, plus an unexpectedly large demand for copies of the book, have a bearing on more than one of the problems to be discussed here.

As with many another nineteenth-century classic, the bibliographical puzzles of the *Carol* came to light long after the book was published. If one could sit down for a quarter of an hour with some intelligent compositor or colorer or binder, who worked at Bradbury & Evans' or Chapman and Hall's in 1843, everything could be cleared up in no time. But alas! so few people are concerned with priorities of end-papers and title-pages of a five-shilling book when it can still be had for five shillings. Only when it becomes a twenty-guinea collector's item is anyone moved to research, and by that time everyone who knew anything about the book is dead, and the real evidence, if any, is buried under a welter of tradition and a century of guess-work.

The earliest Dickens bibliography was compiled by James Cook and published in 1879.[10] It was followed a year later by Shepherd's bibliography,[11] and in 1884 by some illuminating notes by

[9] Letter to Professor Felton of Harvard, in: Dickens, *Letters*. Nonesuch Edition (Bloomsbury, 1938), Vol. I, p. 553.

[10] James Cook, *Bibliography of the Writings of Charles Dickens* (London, 1879).

[11] Richard Herne Shepherd, *The Bibliography of Dickens* (Manchester, 1880).

John F. Dexter.[12] None of these commentators mentions variations in end-papers, or in the first chapter-heading. Dexter speaks of a few copies with a red and green title-page dated 1844, but doubts that they are first editions. Cook dates the book 1844, without comment.

Charles Plumptre Johnson, in his *Hints to Collectors of the Works of Charles Dickens* (London, 1885), is the originator of a division of the first edition into two issues, the first having *Stave I* as the initial chapter heading, the second with *Stave One*. This division was used by *Book-Prices Current* and *American Book-Prices Current* until the revision of Mr. Eckel's bibliography in 1932.

Colonel Prideaux, the only one of the Dickens bibliographers writing before 1913 to describe a copy with the red and blue title-page, Stave I, and *yellow* end-papers,[13] first raises the ultimately fearsome ghost of the end-paper problem. He concludes, however, that the difference is without significance, and that such a copy must also be regarded as a first issue.

In 1900 Frederick G. Kitton, another English student and Dickens enthusiast, published his *Minor Writings of Charles Dickens*, in which he says categorically, but without stated evidence, "the color of the end-papers should be green."[14]

Follows Mr. John C. Eckel, who has carried the weight of authority in Dickens bibliography for thirty years. In his first work on the subject published in 1913, he said of this book: "[it] has just enough bibliographical twists to make it highly interesting to the collector."

His conclusions are important, because they were accepted as Scripture by everyone until 1921, and were used by *Book-Prices Current* and *American Book-Prices Current* until 1932.

[12] John F. Dexter, *Hints to Dickens Collectors*, in: *Dickens Memento* (London, 1884).

[13] William F. Prideaux, *Dickens, "Christmas Carol,"* in: *Notes and Queries* (London, [July 18, 1891]), 7th Series, Vol. XII, p. 45.

[14] A similar statement was made by this author ten years earlier in his introduction to the publication of the facsimile manuscript (London, 1890).

In 1913 Mr. Eckel said categorically, twice in the course of two pages, that the points of a genuine first issue of the book are: a red and blue title-page, dated 1843, green end-papers, and Stave I as the first chapter heading. He says that copies with the title-page in red and green and in red and blue with an 1844 date, and copies in yellow end-papers "must be considered first issues" if they have Stave I, but deflates the concession by following it with this explanation: "While this issue [the Red and Blue '43] was on the press it is believed that Dickens ordered the printing of a number of copies in the other colors and finally decided to return to the format of the earliest issue." The only authority cited for any of these conclusions was Charles Plumptre Johnson. The only comment of Johnson bearing on the subject, which I can find, is the expression of his "belief" (the word is his) that he owned "the very first copy printed and sent to the binder for his guidance," this copy being described as the red and blue Stave I—no color of end-papers given.[15] Thus far I should say, as a lawyer, that the evidence on the subject is precisely nil. Eckel, however, has given added authority to two of the more persistent legends about the book:—the priority of green end-papers, and Dickens' decision to experiment with colors in both title-pages and end-papers *after* the first issue was on the press. As we shall see, each conclusion is still unsupported by any known evidence.

Next in order[16] comes a series of seven articles or notes in *The Bookman's Journal and Print Collector*, an English publication, in 1921 and 1922, by three commentators, Joseph Pennell, Charles J. Sawyer and Albert M. Cohn.

[15] This copy is probably the one owned by Johnson and now in the Berg Collection of The New York Public Library. The pages measure 6 1/16 inches x 4 1/16 inches (the usual copy is 6 1/16 inches x 3 7/8 inches). Only the top edges are gilded, others are uncut. It is bound by Zaehnsdorf in green levant, probably from original sheets, and probably in the eighties or early nineties. The end-papers are therefore of no significance. The title-page is in red and blue dated 1843, and the text is uncorrected with Stave I. The final page of advertisements is missing. Zaehnsdorf has no records indicating the state of the sheets before the present binding.

[16] Except for compilations such as DeRicci's *The Book Collector's Guide; a Practical Handbook of British and American Bibliography* (Philadelphia, Rosenbach Co., 1921).

The first paper by Mr. Joseph Pennell[17] exploits the priority of yellow end-papers on the ground that "so few copies with yellow ends have turned up," and because inscribed copies from Dickens "in every case have the yellow ends." The first statement is inaccurate, as are several others, notably "the 17th December was undoubtedly the first day of publication." The author's opinion about the end-papers is that "Dickens did not like the yellow ends and had them altered to green immediately, more especially as by so doing the appearance of the book became more appropriate for Christmas."

This paper drew an immediate and indignant reply from Mr. Charles J. Sawyer, London dealer and Dickens collector. He says among other things, that "it is common knowledge that six thousand copies of the First Edition were disposed of on the day of publication." Just in passing, this is another oft-repeated statement, dating from Forster, which has no foundation in fact. Dickens in a letter to Mitton dated December 27, 1843[18] says "You will be glad to hear that I had a note from C and H on the Twenty Fourth [the first day of publication was the nineteenth], to say that the Carol was then in its Sixth Thousand." Mr. Sawyer goes on to say that "the solicitude of Dickens to issue in fine taste, what he felt to be the greatest Christmas book ever written, led him to experiment with colored titles and different chapter headings...." Again, no evidence is given. The same conjecture as to colored titles was expressed by Eckel in 1913. And finally: "All bibliographers are agreed that a genuine First Issue should have the following points: I Blue and Red Title Page, II Green End Papers, III Stave I (not One)." Answering Pennell he says that the priority of green ends is supported by the facts (1) that yellow ends are the most common and (2) that subsequent editions had yellow ends.

[17] J. Pennell, *The Real First Issue of 'A Christmas Carol'* in: *The Bookman's Journal and Print Collector* (London, 22 July 1921), Vol. IV, pp. 207-208.

[18] Dickens, *Letters*. Nonesuch Edition (Bloomsbury, 1938), Vol. I, p. 550.

Albert M. Cohn, in the same publication (Vol. IV, No. 94, August 12, 1921) expresses the belief that all copies with Stave I are first issues, and that yellow and green ends were probably used indiscriminately for the first few hundred copies, and thereafter yellow exclusively.

Mr. Sawyer comments again in the *Journal* for December 1921 (Vol. V, No. 3), to the effect that his assumption of the priority of green ends was "founded on Johnson and Eckel." He then takes occasion to comment on what he calls "trial issues," this being apparently the first use of this term in connection with copies with the red and green title-page, dated 1844. The two known copies (both then owned by Sawyer) with Stave I in Gothic type are called Trial Issue 1. Trial Issues 2 and 3 are the red and green variety, Issue 2 being with green end-papers, Issue 3 with yellow.

Mr. Cohn, in the January (1922) issue of the *Journal*, calls attention to his red and green 1844 copy, with yellow ends, bearing this inscription: "W. Bartleet, from his sister, S. Smith, Jan. 5th, 1844," as proof that these red and green copies must have been on sale, and cannot therefore properly be called "trial issues."

There follows a letter from Mr. Sawyer (Vol. V, No. 5, February 1922) discussing "trial copies" and "issues," and finally Mr. Pennell (Vol. V, No. 7, April 1922) summarizes his position by the following conclusion:

First Issue—blue and red title, Stave I, yellow ends, 1843. ("Probably 100 copies delivered by binder before day of publication.")

First Edition—blue and red title, Stave I, green ends, 1843. (The bulk of the edition.)

Trial Copy—the Gothic Stave I. (" . . . which passed through my hands in the first instance, and was noticed by me, and which I ought to have retained.")

Special Edition—red and green title, Stave I, 1844. (Dexter is quoted as authority for the statement that only one hundred copies of this variant were printed.)

Finish of the First Edition—Stave One, yellow ends.

Second Edition—Stave One, yellow ends.

Pennell disagrees with Sawyer as to the frequency of yellow ends. "Over a period of 40 years," he says, "I have only seen the three copies inscribed, and besides this a few others." He misquotes the inscription on the Talfourd presentation copy, just as Osborne does fifteen years later, and makes the same conclusion. He says that red cloth was not used for the binding until the second edition. As a matter of fact, I have seen no copies so bound prior to the tenth edition. He again calls attention to the fact that no copy with green ends inscribed by Dickens is known.

I have abstracted this series of articles at some length, because they represent the first attempt to apply either logic or evidence to our problem. The logic would be more convincing if the evidence were stronger and more accurate, but the discussion marks the first real light on the subject.

Nevertheless *Book-Prices Current* continued to follow Eckel, and copies with yellow end-papers were so little in demand that the catalogues of both the McCutcheon sale in 1926 and the Hatton sale in 1927 continue to give vitality to a ridiculous legend by this statement: "There are said to be but four copies known with the yellow end-papers and Stave I on the first page of the text." Well, if that is so, then I have owned all of them, and similar copies which I have seen on the shelves of a dozen or more of my fellow collectors must all be spurious. The fact is that there are literally scores—I had almost said hundreds—of yellow end-papered copies. The green ones have turned up more often in important auctions probably only because they have long been regarded by collectors as more desirable.

I here and now lay *that* ghost, without fear of successful contradiction.

Mr. Eckel himself was quite unmoved in his preference for green end-papers, although the argument seemed to jolt him into a rather remarkable re-classification, or perhaps I should say com-

plication, of his earlier opinions. As Newton observed in 1936,[19] four years after Eckel's revised bibliography, "With the passage of years we find what once appeared simple has become very complex indeed."

Eckel in his 1932 version of his *First Editions of Charles Dickens* contradicts the 1913 edition by the following statements:

1. The trial copies, with the red and green title-pages were proof copies, printed *before* the red and blue, and rejected.

2. The green end-papers favored by Dickens, were finally eliminated in favor of the yellow.

3. There are four issues of the first edition, all identified by seven listed typographical key-stones, all corrected in the second edition.

These issues are:

First Issue—Red and blue title page, green end-papers, Stave I, uncorrected text, 1843.

Second Issue—Same with yellow end-papers.

Third Issue—Same, except Stave One and yellow end-papers.

Trial Issue—Red and green title Stave I, 1844, uncorrected text, either green or yellow end-papers.

None of these conclusions is documented or supported by substantial evidence. As with most guesses of the sort, they seem to be approximately fifty per cent correct.

Incidentally, and illustrative of the lack of care with which the book itself and other available evidence had been examined up to 1932, there were in fact thirty-nine textual changes[20] for the second edition, not seven, as listed by Eckel in 1932.

The next commentator in order of time, is E. Allen Osborne, whose monograph *The Facts About a Christmas Carol* appeared in London in 1937, following a brief article in 1931.[21] This little

[19] A. E. Newton, *Bibliography and Pseudo-Bibliography* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1936), p. 40.

[20] See Appendix I.

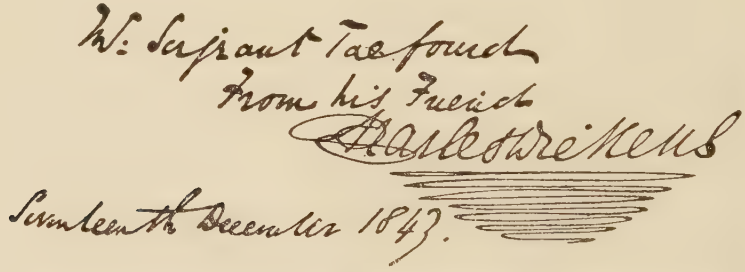
[21] *The Variants of the Christmas Carol*, in: *Bookman* (London, December, 1931), Vol. LXXXI, pp. 192-194.

book is pleasant reading, and contributes to our study, partly by way of additional facts, partly by some stimulating inaccuracies. But for the life of me I have been unable to determine, after a third reading, what combination of points Osborne picks for a first issue, and why.

He largely emphasizes two bibliographical conclusions: the probable priority of (1) yellow end-papers, and (2) Stave One copies.

As to yellow end-papers, I agree, but not on his evidence. Neither of his witnesses stands up under cross-examination.

The first witness is the presentation copy to Dickens' friend Talfourd, said by Osborne to bear this inscription: "I hasten to send to my bosom friend Talfourd the first copy of my Carol, Seventeenth December, 1843." The trouble with this impressive piece of evidence is that it just isn't so. The inscription reads: "Mr. Serjeant Talfourd From his Friend Charles Dickens Seventeenth December 1843."



Inscription on the half-title of the *Carol* presented to Talfourd, reputed (without known evidence) to be the "first copy" of the book.
Courtesy of William M. Elkins, Esq.

The second witness is the green end-papers themselves. Osborne says, on the authority of Pennell, that on receipt of his yellow end-papered copies, Dickens was dissatisfied, and had the existing yellow ends dusted over with green chalk, having first been treated with a sort of glair. This, says Osborne, is substantiated

by the fact that when the green rubs off, as it sometimes does, the old yellow shows up.

There have been so many conjectures about these end-papers that I submitted the problem to Dr. Dard Hunter for an opinion. Dr. Hunter is the founder and curator of the Dard Hunter Paper Museum of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. No man living knows more about paper-making, ancient and modern, from a theoretical or practical standpoint.

I sent him a first edition with green ends, and two early copies, one a first, with yellow ends of apparently different surface texture. His conclusions were these: (1) All end-papers were the same make of paper. (2) The yellow was applied by machine, of which several were in use in England at the time,[22] the green, by hand, probably with a brush or sponge, and not very expertly. (3) The green was not applied over the yellow pigment. Inasmuch as both the green and yellow are soluble in water, such an overlaying would have caused smudging or smearing, which are not present. (Furthermore, it is visually apparent that where the green has rubbed off the base is not yellow, but white.) (4) The green pigment is cupric aceto-arsenite, commonly called paris green, and highly poisonous. (5) Green is a harder color to lay than yellow, but there were much better green papers manufactured in this period.[23] (6) Although the hand-process of coloring paper probably involved very little extra time or expense, the only reason for employing it must have been a wish to produce some particular shade of green not otherwise available.

Dr. Hunter suggests that the green may have been abandoned because of Dickens' discovery of its poisonous quality. This is of course possible. I am more inclined to the theory that the results

[22] *Abridgements of the Specifications relating to the Manufacture of Paper, Pasteboard, and Papier Maché, from 1665-1858* (London, 1858).

[23] Dr. Hunter furnished me with two samples, both definitely better than the paper used. Michael Sadleir also established the fact, citing *The Romanticist's and Novelist's Library*, 4 Vols., large quarto, 1839-1840, as a case in point. See his note in *Times Literary Supplement* (London, January 28, 1932), Vol. XXXI, p. 60.

were unsatisfactory both as to color and because of the tendency of the green to dust off. On the basis of experiments with the same pigment, Dr. Hunter says this effect is noticeable almost as soon as the color has dried.

As a result of this research, I think one can fairly conclude that the green paper was no hasty makeshift, but a considered attempt, by a hand-process, to get a particular green—either one which would suggest Christmas, or one which would match the green ink of the 1844 title-page. It is obvious that the color fulfilled neither specification, and furthermore was messy, if not dangerous, to handle. These facts show reason enough to discard the paper, but afford little support to the conjecture that its preparation and use was a hurried afterthought in the course of publication. Just when the change was probably made I shall discuss later.

As to Osborne's second point, the priority of the One copies, he finds the evidence of a proof copy owned by one Morrell, which he describes, to be almost conclusive. This copy has Stave One and corrections said to be in Dickens' hand. I am frank to say that I do not consider this evidence impressive. And that holds also for the other proof copy recently offered in the Newton sale. If the point seemed worth discussing, there is indisputable evidence that the Newton proof preceded the Morrell proof, although there is an obviously close relation between them in point of time. The corrections on the Morrell copy may have been made by Dickens. I have not seen it. But whether they are or not, these corrections, except in a single instance where the correction was never made in any known printed copy, were all made for the first time in the second edition. There is every reason to conclude that both proofs were struck off at that stage of the printing of the first edition immediately following the change from Stave I to Stave One.

All of the physical evidence and all the logic points to the priority of the I copies. There is ample typographical proof that the first issue was made from the manuscript, which had Stave I. And yet "I" was a *mistake* in the printed book because it did not match

the "Two," "Three," etc., of subsequent chapters, and "One" is used in all copies of the second and subsequent editions with corrected texts. A Stave I copy with the textual corrections is a rarity, the authenticity of which is open to grave suspicion. A change from One to I and back again, for no reason at all, is logically unsupportable. The two proofs mentioned, therefore, must have been struck off toward the end of the printing of the first six thousand copies, just after the change from I to One had been made, but before other textual corrections. The fact that one of these proofs, substantially identical with the other, carries corrections actually made for the second edition, seems to me to reduce the significance of both proofs to the point of strong supporting evidence for the priority of the Stave I copies. They are admitted rarities. But so are eighth editions.

Mr. Osborne contributes a valuable thought in calling attention to the possibility of "accidents of the bindery," the haste of preparation and the lively pre-Christmas demand, as explanations for the many variants all classed by Eckel as "suspicious." It is certainly true that many curious combinations of the points we have discussed have turned up. There has even been a copy with pink end-papers. I own one with green end-papers, Stave I and a partly corrected text. A few, but only a few, of these bear no physical evidence of being made-up copies, and may not have been tampered with. If not made up, I place such copies in point of priority at the end of the first printing of six thousand, at a time when we may visualize a scramble to get every possible finished book out of the bindery in time for the Christmas trade.

We have spent a great deal of time in the endeavor to make some logical pattern out of the many type defects in first-edition copies of the book, in the hope that we could detect here and there a progressive type deterioration which would give some clue to priority, at least of printing. In the course of this part of our research, we have examined literally scores of copies, letter by letter, under a magnifying glass. We have yet to find a consistent

pattern in the printing of any of this defective type with respect to any of the variants, except in the single instance which I have noted below. With that possible exception, all differences in appearance seem to be explainable by differences in inking common to all variants.

Following is an illustrative list of the chief type defects. We have noted about thirty others, for the most part more doubtful, or at least less obvious.

Table of Contents	Page
Preface	little
p. 12, l. 6	we
p. 17	broken signature letter C (some copies)
p. 22, l. 9	defective hyphen in sitting-room
p. 31, l. 14	journeys
l. 15	It
p. 32, l. 7	wings
l. 17	which
p. 33, l. 12	length
l. 14	ground
l. 15	rolling
l. 21	going
p. 35, pagination	defective 5[24]
p. 42, l. 17	was (replaced in 2nd ed.)
l. 20	unearthly
p. 81, l. 13	from
l. 15	missile
p. 105, l. 6	an
p. 106, l. 19	month (spreading of letters)

Many of these defects persist even in the octavo reprint from the stereotype plates, published in 1886.

I find no basis for the inference from Osborne's Appendix 3 that the hyphen defect on page 22 is always very faint in the blue and red copies. I have seen it both faint, and plain but obviously defective, in all variants. It is, I believe, a matter of differences in printing.

[24] It may have been imagination, or a difference in inking, but the "5" on the Johnson copy seemed to me appreciably less defective than in others examined (but not physically compared).

The single type change which may have some significance is the signature identification (C) at the foot of page 17. The letter is broken in some Stave I 1843 copies, with both yellow and green ends, and in all Stave One copies with the uncorrected text which I have been able to examine or which have been reported to me. It is broken in the six 1844 copies with uncorrected text which I have seen. It is perfect in those copies presented on or before publication date which I have been able to examine. It is perfect in both the two known copies with the Gothic Stave I. It is perfect in the second and subsequent editions.

It is hard to be categorical about a type change such as this, but if other conclusions of this paper are correct, it seems logical to argue that the breakage occurred sometime in the course of printing the Stave I copies, and that the letter was replaced when corrections for the second edition were made, or shortly thereafter. If that be so, copies of the uncorrected text with an unbroken C would appear preferable.

Osborne also says (Appendix 3) "the type of the red and green copies is definitely better than most of the other Stave I." I wish Mr. Osborne had enlarged on this. I have not been able to detect a consistent difference of this character.

Osborne is the first commentator to note any differences in the color of the cloth binding. Later editions (through the ninth), and most of the early copies, were cased in a reddish-brown cloth which fades to a sort of dusty salmon-pink. In some good copies of the first edition the binding seems definitely darker, without any reddish tinge. I do not know what such a copy would look like after fading. On the other hand, in one of the Howe copies in the Berg Collection the reddish tinge has apparently completely faded out beyond the margin of a (removed) library label, within which the red pigment is still discernible. I am inclined to think that chemical analysis, or experimental fading under varying light conditions, would indicate the difference to be more apparent than real. At any rate, I can report no consistent pattern. I

have even seen obviously made-up copies cased in the less usual darker cloth.

The illustrations throw no light at all on our bibliographical problem by reason of any varying states. They have been used, without essential alteration, up to this very year. A brief comment on them, however, will clarify a letter from Dickens which I shall mention later, and which has some significance. To be honest, I am glad of any excuse to talk about these illustrations, which are as essential a part of the book as the Tenniel drawings are of *Alice*. Four of them are hand-colored steel etchings, and four are vignettes drawn on wood and engraved by W. J. Linton. The artist was John Leech, then a young man of twenty-six, attached to the staff of *Punch*.

Leech had approached Dickens in the summer of 1836, with an offer to illustrate *Pickwick*. The offer was declined, but Dickens undoubtedly saw the young man now and then, either through their mutual friend Douglas Jerrold, who was also associated with *Punch*, or through Bradbury & Evans, the owners of that magazine, who were Dickens' printers and later his publishers.

It is said that Cruikshank, who had illustrated *Oliver Twist*, made a preliminary sketch for the *Carol*, but if so, its subject matter and present existence must be added to the unsolved mysteries of the book.[25]

The only two originals of the colored plates which I know about were both owned by A. Edward Newton, and were sold in the recent auction of his library. One ("Scrooge's Third Visitor") is now in the Morgan Collection, and the other was acquired by a Philadelphia dealer. A number of original pencil sketches of all but one of these illustrations appeared in the Ogden Goelet sale in 1935, were acquired by Gabriel Wells and re-sold to W. R. Hearst. They went on sale with other items in the Hearst collection, and I do not know who the present owner is. An original

[25] Ralph Strauss, *Charles Dickens; a Biography from New Sources* (New York, Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1928).

drawing (hand-colored) of "The End of It," at the foot of page 164, was inserted in a copy included in the Hogan sale (1945).

I wish I knew where the other two hand-colored etchings are. Newton says he never saw them, and I can find no auction record. Whoever owns the original of that unforgettable frontispiece, "Mr. Fezziwig's Ball," which fairly bursts with the spirit of Christmas, is surely one of the more favored of God's creatures.

Up to this point the results of our investigation have been in a sense largely negative. But it has been necessary, I think, to clear the bibliographical structure of a good deal of hoary humbug in order to make place for more substantial tenants. If these in turn be shown by a wiser generation to be equally illusory, we have at least cleaned house in their honor.

Metaphors carried to extremes usually lead to trouble, so I pursue this one no further than to emphasize again, and as strongly as I can, that one wayward gaffer of the old regime, the Stave I copy, ought to be reinstated without reserve. The bibliographical status of this form rests in a sound tradition, and should never have been questioned. It now seems very clear that the proof-sheets upon the basis of which these copies lost caste for a time, were veritable husks. They are admittedly rare and interesting, but their bibliographical significance is certainly corroborative rather than cataclysmic. To put it quite simply, Stave I copies with the uncorrected text are the first state of the printing, and all Stave One copies are later.

In the effort to reach some positive conclusions about the other points of the book we have examined all published letters of Dickens written within a reasonable interval before and after publication, and such unpublished letters as we found available for examination in American libraries. We have also collected as much data as possible about all recorded presentation copies, and a few other copies, dated but not presented by Dickens, a description of all of which follows this paper as Appendix III. Our conclusions

are based largely on an analysis of this material in the light of the known facts concerning the background and publication of the book.

It was a satisfaction to find a few letters of any evidential value at all. Too often this sort of correspondence is a matter of unverifiable legend. For instance, there is one sentence repeated in book catalogues so often as to have acquired almost the authority of Scripture. "There is a letter from the author in existence in which he protests to Chapman and Hall against the predating of this book." This sentence is repeated in the catalogues of the McCutcheon sale of 1926 and of the Hatton sale of 1927. As far as I know, the legend of such a letter is wholly apocryphal. Careful research has failed to unearth such a letter or any auction record or other reliable information about it. We invite contradiction of the fair conjecture that there is not, and never was, such a letter.

In order to appreciate the significance of this material, it is first in order to fix definitely the date of publication. Fortunately the registry of its birth is attested no less scrupulously than that of Marley's death in the story. It is of public record, under oath, in a lawsuit for pirating the book, commenced by Dickens in 1844 against a weekly publication called *Parley's Illuminated Library* produced by one Lee and others, and selling for a penny a copy.[26] Affidavits in that case solemnly told the world, including posterity, that "A Christmas Carol in Prose, being a Ghost Story of Christmas by Charles Dickens" was duly published by Chapman and Hall of London on December 19, 1843. The signing of these very affidavits is recorded by Dickens in a letter to Clarkson Stanfield, the artist, dated January 9, 1844, which is in my library.

There is little evidence to support an earlier publication date. There *is* a letter from the author to William Macready[27] in which

[26] E. T. Jaques, *Charles Dickens in Chancery: Being an Account of his Proceedings in Respect of the "Christmas Carol" with some Gossip in Relation to the old Law Courts at Westminster* (London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1914), p. 63 et seq. See also: Strauss, *Charles Dickens* (New York ,1928).

[27] Dickens, *Letters*. Nonesuch Edition (Bloomsbury, 1938), Vol. I, p. 556.

he speaks of "a little book I published on the 17th of December, and which has been a most prodigious success," but this is almost surely an inadvertence, and readily explainable by the fact that, as we shall see, copies for his personal use were in Dickens' hands on the earlier date.

It is curious, incidentally, that no one has seemed very sure of this date until Osborne noted it in 1937 in his monograph already referred to. He cites the *Athenaeum* of December 16 and the *Publishers' Circular* of the fifteenth as announcing publication of the book on the nineteenth, and the matter is certainly settled by the affidavits to which I have referred. It may be noted in passing, that John Eckel, the standard Dickens bibliographer, wrote in 1913 that it was published "a few days before Christmas," and twenty years later substitutes inaccuracy for vagueness by stating that it was issued "about ten days before Christmas." In 1925, A. Edward Newton quoted Eckel's earlier pronouncement.[28]

The date should be kept in mind in appraising much of the evidence which follows.

The first letter of real interest is one on November 10, 1843 from Dickens to Forster:[29] It says in part: "Will you come here at six? I want to say a word or two about the cover of the Carol and the advertising, and to consult you on a nice point in the tale." The letter is of significance only to indicate that plans for the format of the book were under way on this date, but that the writing of the book had not then been completed.

But on Monday, December 4, Dickens writes Thomas Mitton, his attorney, to whom he later gives the manuscript of the book, as follows: "I have shewn the book to two or three Judges of very different views and constitutions. I have never seen men personal-

[28] John C. Eckel, *The First Editions of the Writings of Charles Dickens and their Values: A Bibliography* (London, Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1913).

——— *The First Editions of the Writings of Charles Dickens, their Points and Values: A Bibliography* (New York, Maurice Inman, 1932).

A. E. Newton, *The Greatest Book in the World, and Other Papers* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1925).

[29] Dickens, *Letters*. Nonesuch Edition (Bloomsbury, 1938), Vol. I, p. 548.

ly and mentally opposed to each other, so unanimous in their predictions, or so hot in their approval."[30]

In the same letter Dickens speaks about his bank account at Coutts' being overdrawn, and asks for an appointment. This fact helps date the following letter, which is headed "Wednesday," although the publishers have inserted "December 1843" in brackets. As published in the *Nonesuch Collection*,[31] Vol. I, p. 549, it reads:

Devonshire Terrace
Wednesday [December 1843]

My dear Mitton:

I am extremely glad you feel the Carol. For I knew I meant a good thing, and when I see the effect of such a little *whole* as that, on those for whom I care, I have a strong sense of the immense effect I could produce with an entire book.[32]

Bradbury predicts, heaven knows what. I am sure it will do me a great deal of good; and I hope it will sell well. The title page I have had materially altered. They always look bad at first.

I had a letter from Coutts's yesterday afternoon to say that they had much pleasure in discounting the bill; though they were not in the habit of doing so, without the acceptance of a banker or a large mercantile house.—

Faithfully ever, CHARLES DICKENS

This letter was almost certainly sent Wednesday December 6, in view of the Coutts reference in the December 4 letter to Mitton.

Was there a finished book in existence on December 4? I think not. It is not a necessary assumption. Dickens was not in the habit of sending advance proofs around to his friends. It was an age of readings, of circles of admiring friends present in the flesh, of dinners celebrating every phase of the progress of any important book, or of any book judged by the author, the publisher or anyone else, to be important. The dinner celebrating the completion of *The Chimes* has been immortalized by Forster and Maclise, among others. We have ample records of the attendance at dinners for *Nickleby*, *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Chuzzlewit*. There is no

[30] From an unpublished letter in the Morgan Collection.
[31] Original letter in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.
[32] Presumably this refers to the issues of previous works in parts.
I am quite certain of that.

record of so drab a process as introducing a new Dickens book by sending advance copies around to all and sundry. It is not only not in character, but the time limit on this particular book would make it doubly doubtful. "I have shewn the book" could readily comprehend a reading, and I think that is just what happened. There was, in fact, a dinner at Dickens' house on Saturday, December 9, 1843, to which Ainsworth, Thackeray, Maclise, Forster and Cruikshank were invited.[33] There were almost certainly proof-sheets, and perhaps even a rough copy, available on this date, in view of the fact that the German edition, obviously based on some sort of an imprint, was in the book-shops not later than December 27, as we shall see. On the other hand, if there had been finished copies ready even on the ninth, would they not have been distributed at the dinner and dated accordingly? Two of the December 17 presentees, and the closest relative of a third, were on the guest list!

There is also a letter on December 14 to John Leech the illustrator.[34] It reads: "I do not doubt, in my own mind, that you unconsciously exaggerate the evil done by the colourers. You can't think how much better they will look in a neat book, than you suppose. But I have sent a strong Dispatch to C and H and will report to you when I hear from them. I quite agree with you, that it is a point of great importance."

Certainly it would appear that Leech had seen no bound copy of the book on December 14. And if Dickens had seen one, he would presumably have cited his own knowledge on *that* basis. If *any* copy had been bound up and was available for inspection, it would have been natural to suggest that Leech inspect it. In view of this letter, it seems doubtful that *any* copy of the book had been completed even as late as December 14. This fact lends a good deal of force to the argument for the priority in form of no less

[33] See a letter to Cruikshank, in: Dickens, *Letters*. Nonesuch Edition (Bloomsbury, 1938), Vol. I, p. 549.

[34] Sotheby & Co. *Catalogue . . . of the Comte de Suzannet . . . Collection of Material Concerning Charles Dickens* (London, July 11, 1938), p. 46, lot 59 (1).

than eight dated copies presented by Dickens three days later.

But we *can* draw one positive conclusion from the letter of December 6—"The title page I have materially altered. They always look bad at first." The only change this could refer to, is the change from red and green to red and blue. It is the only change which altered the *appearance* of the page, and the reason for it seems fairly clear. The impression was weak and the color of green was miserable. It was about as festive as a stale olive. From this one can fairly conclude that red and green title-pages were probably *printed* first. But it does not follow that such copies were *bound up* first, and the evidence is against that conclusion.

The 1844 date on these copies supports the conclusion of an early printing. One has only to look at the over-emphasized "III" in the date on the manuscript title-page to appreciate that the earlier date was a considered choice. The error of the later date would almost certainly have been noticed and corrected immediately. Year-end publications customarily bear the date of the ensuing year, but the practice is obviously inappropriate for a Christmas book.

If these deductions are correct, they have a bearing also on the end-paper problem. You will recall Dr. Hunter's conclusion that the only point of hand-colored end-papers was to produce a particular shade of green. For what purpose? Obviously to match the green in the title-page. And when the green title-page was abandoned, it was logical to abandon also the end-papers, which had turned out a bad match anyway, which had the other defects already pointed out, and which certainly did not harmonize with the red and blue of the new title-page.

The fact that these green ends were hand-colored seems also significant. The plates were also hand-colored. Such a process imports a sort of special job consistent with Dickens' plan for a beautiful book.

It was natural that the green combination should have been Dickens' first thought. His weakness for green as a color is well

known. In 1845 he writes this to a friend:[35] "Kate thinks with you that green for the hall and staircase is quite out of the question. I merely mentioned the color as one for which I have a natural partiality." In the book itself this color is emphasized: The Ghost of Christmas Present is described as clad in a green robe, and Dickens made Leech change the original (red) coloring of his plate to conform to the text.

What is the alternative? It could only be that the green end-papers, hand-colored, was a Dickensian impulse formed in the middle of a very hurried printing, an impulse of such intensity that the whole process must be suspended until the new paper was ready. And this in the face of added expense and a total absence of aesthetic reason. It just doesn't make sense.

The only picture which seems to fit the evidence is that the green end-paper was selected and prepared first, to match the green title-page, and discarded when, the result "looking bad at first," the red and blue title-page was decided on, with which could be used yellow ends not requiring hand work. Probably in the middle of binding, as demand grew faster than the current end-paper stock, it was hurriedly decided to use up the green paper, and thereafter it was used indiscriminately with yellow, but discarded again when the initial supply of green became exhausted.

This conclusion, which appears to me logically sound, is further supported by the facts (1) that all known copies presented by Dickens prior to publication date have the red and blue title-page, yellow end-papers and Stave I, and (2) that all authentic copies of the second and subsequent editions also have the blue and red title-page and the yellow ends.

There are at least ten of these pre-publication presentations.[36]

[35] Letter to Beard, May 20, 1845, in: Dickens, *Letters*. Nonesuch Edition (Bloomsbury, 1938), Vol. I, p. 677-678.

[36] See Appendix III. It would appear that review copies were also in circulation before publication date. See a letter in the Morgan Library from Dickens to Charles Mackay of the *Chronicle* dated December 19, acknowledging Mackay's expressions of appreciation (in a review?) of the book.

I have tried unsuccessfully to find evidence of some celebration, some ceremony, at which eight of them, dated on December 17 were given. Deductive analysis is equally unproductive.

Copies were given to two old men, either of whom might have been picked as an original for Scrooge, but in each of whom Dickens apparently found something to love. There was Samuel Rogers—wizened old banker-poet, a good eighty years old, friendless and cynical. Dickens dedicated *The Old Curiosity Shop* to this same man. There was also Walter Savage Landor, aged, crotchety, hot-tempered, given to tremendous bursts of unrestrained superlatives usually of an invective nature. He was godfather to Dickens' second son in 1841.

Two more were given to women—one the admirable Baroness Burdett-Coutts, wealthy, full of good works, with a heart which which took in everything from Irish fishermen to London prostitutes[37]—the lady of whom Edward VII said years later, "Next to my Mother, the most remarkable woman in the Kingdom." Dickens had dedicated *Chuzzlewit* to her. The other was to a Mrs. Touchet, a middle-aged lady whose husband was a cousin of Harrison Ainsworth the novelist, and who used to play hostess for his parties. It may have been a birthday present. She celebrated that happy event, her fifty-first, on December 19.

One copy was given to the Reverend Edward Tagart, the solid, humorless Unitarian preacher, whose chapel Dickens attended on the occasions when he was at "outs" with the established church.

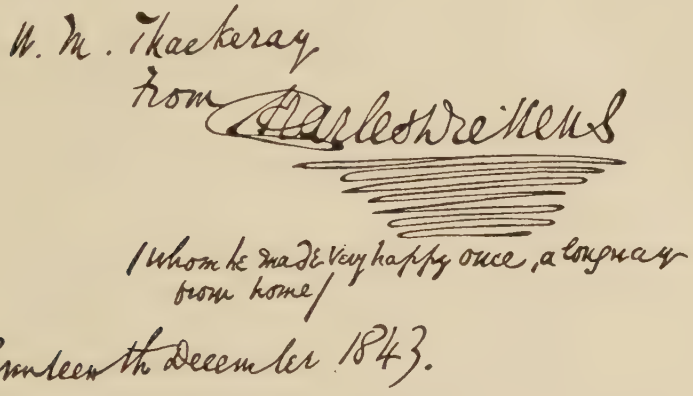
One went to Albany Fonblanque, middle-aged journalist and critic, Forster's friend, but no intimate of Dickens.

One went to Talfourd, the jurist, to whom Dickens dedicated *Pickwick* in book form, the only copy dated December 17 presented to a close friend. None to Maclise, later copies to Beard, Macready, Jerrold and Jeffries.

One of the December seventeenth presentations went to

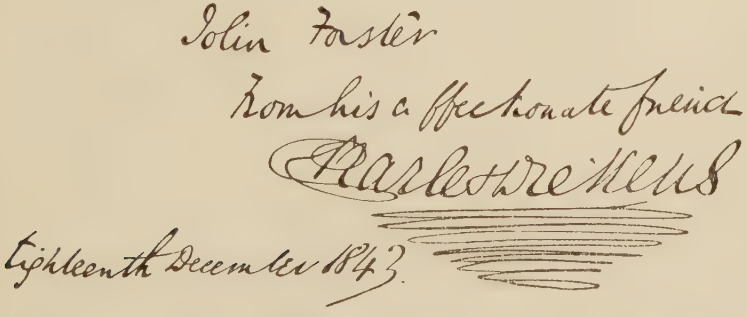
[37] Edward Charles Wagenknecht, *The Man Charles Dickens, a Victorian Portrait* (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929).

Thackeray, never a particular friend of the author, but beloved by Dickens' children.



Inscription on the half-title of the *Carol*, presented to Thackeray, which Queen Victoria did *not* buy. See Appendix III, Item 7.
Courtesy of The Cornell University Library

On the eighteenth there is a presentation (yellow ends, Stave I) to Carlyle, and another exactly similar copy, dated the same day, goes to John Forster, the author's representative, mentor, biographer and friend. On the nineteenth there is one to Thomas Beard, the only known presentation on the date of publication,—also yellow ends, Stave I.



Inscription on the half-title of the *Carol*, presented to John Forster.
Courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London

There follows the copy given to Jeffrey on the twenty-first, with yellow ends, another to Dickens' physician, Dr. Elliotson, on the same date, and one to a Mrs. Austin on the twenty-second, color of end-papers of each unknown; and three later presentations of Stave One copies, two dated New Year's Day 1844, all with yellow ends. A copy in red and green dated 1844 is said to have been given to one Archibald W. Irvine on Christmas Day. I have not seen it. It was sold by Sotheby in 1914, and the description is not conclusive.

You cannot imagine a dinner-party made up of such people as these earliest presentees. There is no pattern of friendship or association into which they fall. The inscriptions to Fonblanque, the minister and the two women are identical, but I cannot visualize anything more impressive than an institutional trustees' meeting at which even these four would have fore-gathered in one group.

We have already spoken of Dickens' dinner-party on December 9. It seems highly probable that, if finished books had been available on that date, that occasion would have been appropriate for gifts of inscribed copies to the guests—including Thackeray and Forster. In the attempt to date the earliest finished copies it seems of some significance that presentations to these gentlemen were dated eight and nine days thereafter.

But this inability to deduce any ceremony, of which the climax might have been a sort of prize day, detracts little from the conclusion to be drawn from these facts: (1) that every one of these first dated presentations, where the state of the original book can be determined, is a copy with yellow end-papers,[38] and (2) that we have not been able to find a single authentic presentation copy with green ends and the red and blue title, and (3) that the earli-

[38] That these copies were not pre-dated, is a fair inference from a letter from Dickens to the Reverend William Harness, dated December 22, 1843 (*Letters*, Nonesuch Edition, Vol. I, p. 549) in which he says he has "run short of copies," and asks for the Christian name of Mr. Harness' niece, so that a copy may be signed for her.

est presented or otherwise dated copy of any sort with green ends is December 21.[39]

If these facts stood alone, the evidence would be impressive. Added to the other evidence, I submit that it conclusively establishes the priority of the yellow ends in a finished book.

I have indicated my thought that the red and green 1844 copies, although the title-page was in the earliest state, were *bound up* after a substantial number of red and blue copies. This seems fortified by these additional facts: *First*, there is no known presentation by Dickens of such a copy, unless the Irvine copy, dated after the entire first edition had been bound up, is an authentic presentation. Of the four recorded *dated* copies of this variant, the earliest is December 21, the latest, January 5. Three of these copies were obviously purchased in the open market, which seems to make inappropriate the designation of this form of the book as a "trial issue." *Second*: Copies of this variant are known in both green and yellow ends, the latter with both Stave I and Stave One; and *Third*: the haste of publication and the large demands for pre-Christmas sale would sufficiently explain the use of even discarded titles to fill a growing demand.

I conclude, therefore, that the evidence affords no basis for an argument of priority of red and green copies as a finished book. Neither does the evidence furnish any justification for using the term "Trial Issue" to describe these 1844 copies.

The red and blue 1844 copies, if any, would follow logically the red and green 1844's in order of printing. I have seen recorded only one example of this variant. If it exists, it is a true rarity.

The Stave I copies with "Stave I" in Gothic types have never been explained; I submit two theories—(1) that of the aesthetic printer (2) that of the too-smart printer. Theory (1) predicates an imaginative compositor, who, noticing the Gothic type of the

[39] See Appendix III; "Some Early Dated Copies," No. 2.

words "A Ghost Story of Christmas" on the title-page and half-title, is moved thereby to give a similarly distinctive typography in the seasonal tradition, to the heading of the very first chapter.

His trial balloon is promptly punctured, and only two copies survive as a monument to his decorative instincts. If this theory is tenable, the two copies of this variant are the most precious *Carols* in existence. The only fly in this ointment is the green end-paper of both copies. Even this might be explained on the theory that these copies were bound up before publication date, and before the yellow ends were finally decided on. After all, our conclusions predicate the probable existence, although not the use, of this green end-paper, before any copies were actually finished for the market. For whatever it may be worth, Sawyer, who owned both copies, has consistently tagged them as "Trial Issue I."[40]

The other theory, entirely the product of my own imagination, is this: At the time of the change from Stave I to Stave One, the typesetter (the too-smart one) is directed to change the Roman *numeral* in the first chapter heading. He construes this as a direction to change the Roman *type*. He changes it to the only available alternative—Gothic type. A natural error, but soon discovered and corrected. On this theory, these two copies may be placed at the end of the Stave I (Roman) printing. Here, again, one runs into the end-paper problem. End-papers at this stage of the binding were more probably yellow.

If I had to guess, I would place my bets on the first theory. But it would be a small bet. There is no impressive evidence one way or the other.[41]

There remains to be discussed the status of the Tauchnitz edition, published in December 1843. It merits comment largely because of a sort of "whispering campaign" among certain book-dealers to the effect that this edition may well have preceded the

[40] Charles J. Sawyer and F. J. Harvey Darton, *English Books, 1475-1900; a Signpost for Collectors* (Westminster, Charles J. Sawyer, Ltd., 1927), Vol. II, p. 282.

[41] See an article on this variant in the *Times Literary Supplement* for December 23, 1920.

English first. What evidence there is, is to the contrary. The title-page says: "Edition sanctioned by the Author," and the book was advertised in *Börsenblatt für den Deutschen Buchhandel,* 10 Jahrgang, No. 106, dated December 8, 1843, columns 3767-3768 as "appearing later this month, simultaneously with the London edition." No mention is made of the book in the *Börsenblatt* published under date of December 23. In the same list of December 29, however, the book is described under headings (column 3967) which, translated, read: "Items of which announcement is made in the German book-trade"; "Available in Leipzig on December 27, 1843." It seems probable therefore, that this edition appeared no earlier than the twenty-third, and no later than the twenty-seventh. J. Y. Southton, in his article *The Authorized Leipzig Edition of Dickens* in *The Dickensian,* (1912), VIII: 181-183, suggests that this printing was set up from early proofs sent to Germany, and this is probably correct, because the text agrees with the first English edition, rather than with the manuscript. For example, the word "jaw," which was added between the lines in the manuscript, was misread "gait" by the English compositor, and the same inadvertence is repeated in the Leipzig edition. To be sure the Tauchnitz copies have "Stave I," "Stave II," "Stave III," etc., but it is probable that this attests only the accuracy of the German proofreader who has thus resolved the inconsistency between "Stave I," "Stave Two," etc., in the English text, and "Stave I," "Stave II," etc., in the Table of Contents.

So, on the basis of all available evidence, I have ventured a collation of a book which may properly be called the first state of the first issue of *A Christmas Carol.*[42] The choice admittedly invites a re-survey of the whole terminology of bibliography—"edition," "issue," "impression," "variant" and "state." If priority of printing or preparation of a part of a book is of significance irrespective of its incorporation in the finished volume, then certainly a further refinement of definition is in order. But I do not

[42] Appendix II.

understand that McKerrow, Muir, Bennett or others who have attempted to stabilize these terms have made them referable to other than a completed book. And it is on that basis, and in view of the foregoing evidence, that I suggest a revision of *Carol* bibliography in accordance with Appendix IV following this paper.

I wish it were practicable to go on and talk of later editions of the book, of all the songs and dramatic versions and reading copies and play-bills and radio scripts and medals and book-plates and brochures which it has inspired, of various "made-up" copies, of American editions, translations, gift bindings, popular and children's and limited editions, of manuscript and other facsimiles, of piracies, of freaks like the edition in short-hand, of the work of a dozen or more illustrators after Leech.

That one can find material for a half dozen papers of this sort, that one may spend a long life-time in collecting the book, that one may work on it for months on end with a magnifying glass, and still look forward to re-reading it on Christmas is all part of the endless challenge and the immortal vitality of the *Carol*. Surely, in Newton's happy phrase, it is still the "Greatest Little Book in the World."

Appendix I

Text Changes, First to Third Editions of *A CHRISTMAS CAROL*

Page of Text	*Line*	*Manuscript*[1]	*First Edition*	*Second Edition* (including copies with a first edition title-page but corrected text) *Third Edition*
1	heading	Stave I[2]	Stave I or One	Stave One
2	9	friend and	friend and	friend, and
3	10	names:	names:	names.
3	11	it	it	It
5	4	care?	care?	care!
12	16	Poor	poor	Poor
13	19	for?"	for?'	for?"
16	19	of	of—	of
17	8	suppose?"	suppose?"	suppose?'
21	22	gloom.	gloom.	gloom (period faint or absent)
26	9	before;	before:	before;
29	4	you—	you—	you;
35	3	one	one	One
35	8	*footnote*[3]	twelve	Twelve
48	1	fervour.	fervour—	fervour[4]
56	7	I'll	I'll	I will
57	4	here!	here?	here!
65	20	not?"	not?' *	not?"
80	20	off,	off,	off;
84	1	clashing	clashing	crashing
89	2-3	Tim! and	Tim, and	Tim! and
91	4	thoughtful	thoughtful	thoughtful,
98	6	year—he'll	year!—he'll	year! He'll

[1] Differences between the manuscript and the printed text were first discussed in an article by Fritz Fiedler, *Wie Dickens das Christmas Carol feilte*, in: *Archiv für das Studien der Neuren Sprachen und Literaturen.* (Braunschweig und Berlin, Oktober, 1922.) Neue Serie. Band 144, pp. 37-53.

[2] In the manuscript all staves are numbered with Roman numerals.

[3] "The third on the next night at the same hour." This is an example of some thirty major changes made for the first edition.

[4] A semi-colon is added after "fervour" in the eleventh edition.

* Last part of quotation mark only a faint dot on most copies.

99	foot		(no signature)	2H
101	14	before,	before	before,
102	1	listed—	listed—	listed;
113	19	Here's	Here's	Here is
122	3	onward	downward	onward
122	21	shroud,	shroud	shroud,
125	1-2	all I know	all know	all I know
132	9	one	one	judgment[5]
133	3	each,	each	each,
141	8	faces, hushed and	faces hushed, and	faces, hushed and
143	2	he's[6]	he's	he has[7]
143	15	trouble—	trouble—	trouble:
150	4	what	wha	what
153	22	frisking	frisking	going
162	22	day?"	day?	day?"
163	1	I'm	I'm	I am

Text changes[8] to Ninth Edition

Fourth Edition

Preface: defective "e" in "little" replaced.
p. 9, l. 18: "*You*" to "*you*,".
p. 53, l. 5: Semi-colon after "cracked" dropped.*

Sixth Edition

p. 7, l. 19: "be" to "be,".

Ninth Edition

*semi-colon replaced.
p. 81, l. 14: battered final "g" in "exchanging" replaced.
p. 131, l. 13: "why, then" to "why then".

[5] Because of this change, the entire paragraph, lines 9 through 17, is reset.

[6] "he has" was first written, then corrected to "he's."

[7] "his" was reset at the end of line 1 to allow room for this change.

[8] This list is not guaranteed to be complete. It particularly does not include the shifting of signature indicia. It will, however, serve as a check, particularly in examining copies under suspicion.

Appendix II

Description of the First State of the First Issue of *A CHRISTMAS CAROL*

Title Page: A Christmas Carol. | In Prose. | Being | A Ghost Story of Christmas. | By | Charles Dickens. | (rule) | with Illustrations by John Leech. | (rule) | (ornament: a spray of holly) | London: | Chapman & Hall, 186, Strand. | MDCCCXLIII. |

(all but the date within a wave-rule border with a printer's ornament in each corner.)

Collation: 1 Vol., Foolscap 8vo., pp. (i-viii), (1)-166, advertisements (167-168). Sig. (A)^4, B-L^8, M^4. Size of leaf, $6\frac{7}{16}$ x $3\frac{7}{8}$. All edges gilt.

(i-ii), Half-title, printed in blue; recto, "A Christmas Carol. | In Prose. | being | A Ghost Story of Christmas. | "; verso, blank.

Inserted, hand-colored frontispiece facing title, entitled "Mr. Fezziwig's Ball", the recto being blank.

(iii-iv), Title-page as above, lines 1, 5, 6 and 8 and the date in red, the rest in blue; verso, imprint in center: "London: | Bradbury and Evans, Printers, Whitefriars. | "

(v-vi), Preface, signed "C.D. | December, 1843. | "; verso, blank.

(vii-viii), Contents; verso, blank.

(1)-166, text; at the top of p. (1), "A Christmas Carol. | (double rule) | Stave I. | "; imprint at foot of p. 166, "London: | Bradbury and Evans, Printers, Whitefriars. | "

(167-168), advertisements of "Works of Mr. Charles Dickens."

(Form of text as indicated in Appendix I)

Illustrations: Four hand-colored etchings and four woodcut vignettes by John Leech. The woodcuts were engraved by W. J. Linton and appear on pages 37, 73, 119 and 164. The four full-page colored plates are inserted, not included in the pagination, and are thus entitled and placed:

Mr. Fezziwig's Ball	frontispiece
Marley's Ghost	facing page 25
Scrooge's third Visitor	" " 78
The Last of the Spirits	" " 150

Binding: Brown or brownish-red cloth; blocked on front with framing in blind (holly and ivy design) and a center design in gold, a wreath of holly enclosing A | Christmas Carol | By | Charles Dickens; spine: gold scroll and holly and mistletoe design; title in gold: A | Christmas | Carol | By | Charles Dickens; back blank, with framing in blind similar to front. (The opposite ends of the blind framing are not identical, but I can see no consistency or significance as to which end is stamped on the top of any particular copy.) Yellow end-papers.

Appendix III

The Known Presentation Copies of the *CAROL* and a Few Dated Copies of Bibliographical Interest

The Presentation Copies[1]

(These copies have been examined by one or both of the authors except as otherwise stated.)

December 17, 1843

1. Burdett-Coutts, Angela Georgina, Baroness
   Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.
   Inscribed: "Miss Burdett Coutts | From | Charles Dickens | seventeenth December 1843"
   Sold: Burdett-Coutts sale: Sotheby: 15 May 1922. Price £190.
   Described: Catalogue of the Sawyer Collection, *A Dickens Library*, London, 1936, p. 30.
   (Not examined.)

2. Fonblanque, Albany
   Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.
   Inscribed (on half title): "Albany Fonblanque Esquire | From Charles Dickens | Seventeenth December 1843"
   In the Morgan Library.

3. Landor, Walter Savage
   Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends. Reported to be inscribed: "Walter Savage Landor | From his affectionate friend | Charles Dickens | Seventeenth December 1843"
   Described by J. Pennell, *The Real First Issue of "A Christmas Carol"* in: *The Bookman's Journal and Print Collector* (London, 22 July 1921), Vol. 4, pp. 207-208.
   (Not examined.)

4. Rogers, Samuel
   Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843 (rebound).
   Inscribed: "Samuel Rogers Esquire | with sincere regards from | Charles Dickens | Seventeenth December 1843"
   Sold: Sotheby: 14 May 1920: Miscellaneous collection. Price £200.
   Reported in: *The Dickensian: A Quarterly Magazine for Dickens Lovers and the Official Record of the Dickens Fellowship* (London, Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1920), Vol. XVI, p. 118.
   (Not examined.)

[1] There were undoubtedly other presentation copies unrecorded in sales records. See the letter to Reverend William Harness, already cited, and another to Laman Blanchard dated January 29, 1844, in: *Letters, op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 565.

5. Tagart, Reverend Edward
   Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.
   Inscribed (on half-title): "The reverend Edward Tagart | From | Charles Dickens | Seventeenth December 1843"
   In the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

6. Talfourd, Thomas Noon
   Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.
   Inscribed: "Mr. Serjeant Talfourd | From his Friend | Charles Dickens | Seventeenth December 1843"
   In the library of William M. Elkins, Philadelphia.

7. Thackeray, William Makepeace
   Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.
   Inscribed: "W. M. Thackeray | From | Charles Dickens (whom he made very happy once, a long way from home) | Seventeenth December 1843"
   In the Andrew D. White Collection, Cornell University Library.
   There is an interesting legend connected with this copy. It was item No. 70 in the catalogue of Thackeray's library, which was sold at auction on March 18, 1864. Forster, in the original issue of his biography, after retelling the story of Queen Victoria's desire to hear the *Carol* read having been frustrated by Dickens' feeling that a private audience was necessary for the purpose, says this: "but her Majesty's continued interest in the *Carol* was alleged to have been shown by her purchase of it with Dickens' autograph at Thackeray's sale . . . ." The story is repeated in Cooke's *Bibliography* (1879) p. 33.
   In 1890, F. G. Kitton[2] writes: "Mr. John Camden Hotten is responsible for the statement (in his *Life of Dickens*) that her Majesty the Queen expressed the strongest desire to possess this most interesting book . . . that an unlimited commission was sent for its purchase; and that it became her Majesty's property for the sum of £ 25/10 s., and was immediately transferred to the Palace. Mr. Forster has given additional currency to the story; but I am enabled to state on the authority of the Royal Librarian at Windsor, that the book is not included in the collection under his care."
   Kitton apparently missed a foot-note in later editions of Forster[3] correcting his earlier statement. The note reads in part: "Since this note first appeared Mr. Bumpas (*sic*) the bookseller has written to me to correct Mr. Hotten's statement. Commissioned by a private gentleman, Mr. Bumpas (*sic*) bought the book himself for the sum named, and it is now in America."

[2] F. G. Kitton, *The Christmas Carol by Charles Dickens: A Facsimile Reproduction of the Author's Original Ms.* (London: Elliot Stock: 1890), p. V.

[3] John Forster. *The Life of Charles Dickens*, edited by J. W. T. Ley (New York: Doubleday: [c. 1928]), p. 831.

An anonymous note in *The Book-Lover*[4] follows the history of this copy somewhat further. It appears that Mr. Bumpus, the bookdealer, had purchased the copy for a gentleman described, with the delicate British passion for anonymity, as "B. G. L.," who "was ill at the time." B. G. L. advertised the item for sale in the *Athenaeum*[5] under the date of July 9, 1870, and sold it to an American gentleman (of whose name he kept no record) for £17.

I can discover no record of the item until it turned up in the library which went to Cornell by the will of its late President, Mr. Andrew D. White. I find that the apocryphal legend of the Queen's acquisition of this volume still persists in the minds of some collectors and dealers, notwithstanding the half-century or more which has elasped since the story was corrected.

8. Touchet, Eliza Buckley (Mrs. James)
   Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.
   Inscribed (on half-title): "Mrs. Touchet | From | Charles Dickens | seventeenth December 1843"
   Sold: Sotheby, 15 February 1932. Price, £480.
   Reported in: *The Dickensian* (London, 1932), Vol. XXVIII, p. 167. (Not examined.)

December 18, 1843

9. Carlyle, Thomas
   Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.
   Inscribed: "Thomas Carlyle | From his friend | Charles Dickens | eighteenth December 1843." "read with satisfaction; presented with | satisfaction, and many Christmas wishes, | to John Welsh, this 22nd Decr 1843 | by T. Carlyle"
   In the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

10. Forster, John
    Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.
    Inscribed (on the half-title): "John Forster | From his affectionate friend | Charles Dickens | Eighteenth December 1843"
    In the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

December 19, 1843

11. Beard, Thomas
    Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.

[4] *The Book-Lover: A Magazine of Book Lore* (San Francisco, Winter, 1899-1900), Vol. I, pp. 173-174.

[5] *The Athenaeum: Journal of English and Foreign Literature* . . . (London, July 9, 1870), No. 2228, p. 34.

Inscribed(on the half-title): "Thomas Beard | From his old friend | Charles Dickens | Nineteenth December 1843"
In the library of P. C. Calhoun.

Later dated presentation copies

12. Jeffrey, Lord Francis
Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.
Inscribed (on the half-title): "Lord Jeffrey | From his affectionate friend | Charles Dickens | Twenty First December 1843"
In the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

13. Elliotson, Dr. John
Description: "1st Edition." (Sold with *The Haunted Man,* at a sale of miscellaneous collections, Sotheby, 11 December 1903, and so described.)
Inscribed (on half-title): "Dr. Elliotson | from Charles Dickens | Twenty First December, 1843"
(Not examined. Issue and date uncertain.)

14. Austin, Mrs. Henry
Description: "1st Edition, earliest issue." (So described, *Book-Prices Current.* 1899.)
Inscribed: "From Charles Dickens | Devonshire Terrace, | Friday December 22d 1843"
Also described in the Franklin Club of St. Louis *Exhibition of Books . . . Commemoration of the Centenary of Charles Dickens* (St. Louis, 1912), p. 33.
(Not examined.)

15. Irvine, Archibald William
Description: Red and green title, Stave I, 1844, yellow ends.
Sold: H. W. F. Hunter Arundel sale, Sotheby, 6-8 April 1914. A note from the catalogue is quoted in *Book-Prices Current* as follows: "This copy was presented by Dickens to Archibald William Irvine, whose name and date (Dec. 25 '43) are written on the title page." Price £25.
This copy was sold by Anderson Galleries in the Coggeshall sale on April 25, 1916 (Item No. 119). Quoting from the catalogue (p. 34): "Although dated 1844, these experimental copies were printed in November and December 1843. This copy verifies the fact as it was presented by Dickens as a Christmas gift, to his intimate friend Archibald William Irvine, whose name and date 'Dec. 25, '43' are written on the title-page." Price $360.
It seems probable from the auction prices of this book, as well as from the catalogue description, that the inscription here is not in Dickens' hand. (Notwithstanding Osborne's assumption to the contrary in *The Facts About A Christmas Carol,* p. 24).

The Anderson catalogue data, including the "intimate" friendship, are unsupported by any known evidence.
(Not examined.)

16. Macready, W. C.
Description: Red and blue title, Stave One, 1843, yellow ends, uncorrected text.
Inscribed: "W. C. Macready | From his affectionate friend | Charles Dickens | New Years Day 1844"
Sold: Ogden Goelet sale (item 121), 3 January 1935. Price $1150.
Described in the Goelet sale catalogue. See also *The Dickensian* (1935).
(Not examined.)

17. Felton, Cornelius C.
Description: Red and blue title, Stave One, 1843, yellow ends, uncorrected text.
Inscribed: "C. C. Felton | From his affectionate Friend | Charles Dickens | New Year's Day | 1844"
In the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

18. Harley, J. P.
Description: Red and blue title, Stave One, 1843, yellow ends.
Inscribed (above Preface): "J. P. Harley | From his friend | Charles Dickens"
In the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

19. Hood, Thomas
Description: Red and blue title, Stave I, 1843, green (?) ends. (It has been questioned whether these end-papers are original. If not, they seem of identical composition and coloring.) Pp. 1-2 of the text are 1st issue; pp. 3-166 are as corrected for the Second Edition.
Inscribed (on half-title): "Thomas Hood | From his friend | and earnest admirer | Charles Dickens" (undated)
In the library of P. C. Calhoun.

20. Jerrold, Douglas
Description: Third Edition
Inscribed: "Douglas Jerrold | From his friend | Charles Dickens | January 1844"
In the Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

21. Salmon, Frederick
Description: Red and blue title, Stave One, 1843, yellow ends, uncorrected text.
Inscribed: "Frederick Salmon Esquire | From his friend | Charles Dickens | Twenty eighth March 1846"

Sold: Kern sale, 1929. Price $2500. Formerly in the Bemis Collection. (Not examined.)

22. Andersen, Hans Christian
Description: 11th Edition
Inscribed: "Hans Christian Andersen | From his Friend and Admirer | Charles Dickens | London, July, 1847"
Sold: Hogan sale, April 24, 1945. Price $3600.

Some Early Dated Copies

1. 20 December 1843
Red and blue, Stave I, 1843, yellow ends.
Inscribed: "Frederick Bakewell, with Mrs. Tagart's kind love & best wishes. Decbr. 20th 1843."
See: Hatton sale catalogue (Dec. 7, 1927). Item No. 86 (ii).

2. 21 December 1843
Red and blue, Stave I, 1843, green ends.
See: *Book-Auction Records*, 1939, p. 404. Sotheby, 4 July 1939, Item 508.

3. 21 December 1843
Red and green, Stave I, 1844, yellow ends.
See: Quaritch, Catalogue No. 500 (1935) p. 47, Item 148. "There is an inscription on the fly-leaf dated 21 Dec. 1843."

4. Christmas 1843
Red and blue, Stave One, 1843, yellow ends.
Inscribed: "A Christmas present," dated 1843.
See: *Book-Auction Records*, 1920-1921, p. 247, Hodgson sale catalogue, 19 January 1921, Item 193.

5. Christmas, 1843
Trial issue (so described. No note on color of ends).
Inscribed (on first fly-leaf): "Ann Jane Andrews, Christmas, 1843."
See: *Book-Auction Records*, 1926-1927, p. 198; Sotheby, 1 February 1927, Item 478. Price £64.

6. 5 January 1844
Red and green, Stave I, 1844, yellow ends.
Inscribed (on 1st fly-leaf, recto): "W. Bartleet from his sister S Smith Jany 5th 1844" with the book-plate of Robert Smith Bartleet. This is the copy mentioned by Cohn in his letter in *The Bookman's Journal*, etc., Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 141, to prove his point that copies of the so-called trial issue were sold to the public.

Appendix IV

The First and Second Editions of *A CHRISTMAS CAROL*

First Edition: All copies with the uncorrected text. (See Appendix I.)

First Issue: With *Stave I* as the first chapter heading. Four variants of this were published.[1] These are listed below in the probable order of their appearance in a completed book.

1st State:[2] Red and blue title-page dated 1843, with yellow end-papers.[3]

2nd State:[2] Same, with green end-papers.

3rd State:[4] Red and green title-page dated 1844, with green end-papers.

4th State:[4] Same as 3rd State, with yellow end-papers.

Second Issue: With *Stave One* as the first chapter heading. Red and blue title-page dated 1843, with yellow end-papers.[5]

Second Edition:[6] Copies with the *corrected* text[7] (See Appendix I) as follows:

1st State:[8] Red and blue title-page, dated 1843, identical with title-page of first edition; Stave One, yellow end-papers.

2nd State: Same, with words "Second Edition" on the title-page.

[1] Two other variants of this issue are known, or have been reported. The first, of which two copies are known, has Stave I in Gothic type. Its exact bibliographical status is open to some question, but it is undoubtedly an early copy of the first issue. The second, with the 1844 title-page in red and blue and Stave I, we have been unable to check. Such a title-page, if it exists, represents a transition between the red and green 1844 pages and those dated 1843 in red and blue. Bound books with such a title-page can only be regarded as sub-states of States 3 and 4.

[2] The term "state" refers to a completed book. The green end-papers were probably colored before any book was bound, but the yellow end-papers were first used in bound copies.

[3] A perfect signature letter C at the foot of p. 17 probably indicates the earliest printing of the text.

[4] States 3 and 4 comprehend copies heretofore called "Trial Issues." We believe the term inaccurate, because (1) although this title-page was probably in the earliest *printed* state, the evidence indicates that it was not included in a finished book before States 1 and 2 were published, and (2) copies in red and green were available in the open market. The priority of green end-papers with this title-page is deduced as a matter of logical sequence rather than from any substantial direct evidence. It is not improbable that at some stage in the binding, the use of yellow and green ends overlapped to some extent. Copies completed in that stage cannot, of course, be separately identified, and for such copies, the sequence used (as to States 2, 3 and 4) is necessarily arbitrary.

[5] A variant of this issue, with a red and green title-page dated 1844, is said to exist. Of the two reported copies, we have examined one, and that looked suspicious. If such copies are to be accepted as authentic, they would constitute a first state of the Second Issue.

[6] The second and third editions aggregated 3,000 copies, probably all printed before January 2, 1844. See an unpublished letter of that date to Mitton, in the Berg collection. See also a letter of January 3 to Forster in his: *Life of Charles Dickens*, edited by J. W. T. Ley (New York, [c. 1928]), p. 314.

[7] Copies with a first edition title-page and the corrected text in one or more (but not all) signatures are possible results of binding accidents, although the facts that usually the only uncorrected signature is the first (with the Stave I heading), and that almost all such copies have green end-papers, suggest an attempt at improvement. Copies in which pp. 1 and 2 are uncorrected and pp. 3 -166 are corrected, are clearly made-up, since they have "Stave I" on p. 1, and "of" on p. 16, an uncorrected and a corrected reading on the same side of conjugate leaves, printed on the same form of a single signature. Most, if not all copies showing other combinations of the points described, are also not authentic.

[8] These copies are comparatively rare. They are probably the result of an inadvertence in the bindery, whereby a few title-pages left over from the First Edition were bound up with the corrected text. Priority of these copies is not provable, and the designation "First State" is therefore largely a matter of convenience.

Authors of the Paper in this Issue

Philo Calhoun is a lawyer, practicing in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and the author of a number of papers on legal subjects. He has been a collector of *Carol* items for more than twenty years.

Howell J. Heaney took his Master's degree from Cornell in 1941, and a B.S. in Library Science from Columbia in 1942. Thereafter he was Order Librarian at the University of New Hampshire, and since 1943 has been in the service with the Army Medical Corps.

Bibliographical Notes

Two Unknown American Incunabula

In reading the works of Bartolomé de las Casas, I have run across two references to printed books of which no copies seem to be known. In his *Historia de las Indias*, written about 1561 and printed in Madrid in 1875, in *Tomo* III, page 449, after describing the so-called Laws of Burgos enacted in 1512 and 1513, he says, speaking of the amendments of July 25, 1513, that they were proclaimed in Valladolid and were printed. It is not clear whether only the amendments were printed or the laws of 1512 with the amendments, but I think it likely that both were included and that the printing was done in Valladolid.

In his letter to the *Consejo de Indias* from Puerto de Plata on the island of Santo Domingo and dated January 20, 1531, at the end he says: "I send you a copy of the bull of the pope in which he entrusted these lands to the kings of Castile, which I had printed." Casas had not been in Spain since December, 1520, therefore the Bull must have been printed previously, and after November, 1515, when he arrived in Spain. It was most likely printed during 1518 or 1519 when he was engaged in the controversy about the *encomiendas* in the islands.

This Bull of Alexander VI was printed some time after 1510, and three examples of it are now known — in the John Carter Brown Library, Library of Congress and Huntington Library. At the beginning it is stated that Jacobo Conchillos had it printed. Paul Gottschalk reprinted all three of them. The heading is in Spanish, while the rest of the Bull is in Latin. At the beginning Conchillos is said to be bishop of Gerace in Catania, Sicily. He came back to Spain in 1511 and on October 1, 1512, was made bishop of Lérida. The supposition is that he had the Bull printed at Logroño some time in 1512 by Arnold Guillén de Brocar. This was certainly not the one Casas stated that he had printed, as Conchillos was a brother of Lope, the secretary of the *Consejo de Indias*, in charge of Indian affairs and a bitter enemy of Casas.

I believe that the copy in the Library of Congress belonged to Casas him-

self as it contains in the lower margin a long extract in Spanish from the queen's will. The handwriting is not as small as that usually found in Casas' original manuscripts, but he was fond of quoting this clause from the queen's will and if he did not write it himself he had someone else do it.

—Henry R. Wagner

The Great Probability of a North West Passage: deduced from Observations on the Letter of Admiral De Fonte, Who sailed from the *Callao* of *Lima* on the Discovery of a Communication between the South Sea and the Atlantic Ocean; And to intercept some Navigators from *Boston* in *New England*, whom he met with, Then in Search of a North West Passage. Proving the Authenticity of the Admiral's Letter. With Three Explanatory Maps. 1st. A Copy of an authentic *Spanish* Map of *America*, Published in 1608. 2nd. The Discoveries made in *Hudson's Bay*, by Capt. *Smith*, in 1746 and 1747. 3d. A General Map of the Discoveries of Admiral De Fonte. By Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to the King. With an Appendix. Containing the Account of a Discovery of Part of the Coast and Inland Country of Labrador, made in 1753. The Whole intended for the Advancement of Trade and Commerce. London: Thomas Jefferys. MDCCLXVIII. 4to, pp. xxiv, 154. 3 Maps.

Sabin 28460.

Charles Swaine, the eighteenth-century explorer, and Clerk of the ship *California* in 1746-1747, was presented as author of *An Account of a Voyage for the Discovery of a North-West Passage* (London, 1748 and 1749) in the December, 1943 issue of *The Papers*. He is now presented as author of *The Great Probability of a North West Passage*, London, 1768.

Captain Swaine, anxious to return to Hudson Bay to complete the unfinished explorations of 1747, conducted two expeditions from Philadelphia but in neither 1753 or 1754 was he able to get into Hudson Bay. However, in 1753 he carried out part of his directions and plans, when a section of the coast of Labrador was explored, fine harbors being located, and excellent facilities found for fishing, whaling, lumbering and fur trading. An account of this part of his expedition, taken from the Journal, is published as the *Appendix* in *The Great Probability*.

On the title-page of this book a list of maps follows the title, and the words: "By Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to the King." As no author's name appears anywhere in the book, Jefferys has been frequently credited as the author. However, in the *Preface* is this credit: "I cannot pass by Mr. *Jefferys's* Care and Exactness in executing the Maps." Probably because of the similarity between *An Account* and *The Great Probability*, both of the books have been listed under the name of Theodore Swaine Drage or Dragge, Theodorus Swaine Drage, Theodore Swin-

drage, and perhaps others. It has already been shown that not Drage, but Charles Swaine was the author of *An Account*. Besides the similarity, there is other evidence to indicate who wrote the book. After the completion of the main discussion, the author turned promoter, advocating further explorations in Hudson Bay and the Arctic Region in order to advance trade and commerce, complete the geographical knowledge of the northern section of the North American continent, and — at the same time without additional expense — find out whether or not there was a Northwest Passage. He advocated the use of ports in Labrador as being more convenient and practical, as well as time-saving, and told of the excellent harbors, any one of which would be suitable, located on the expedition from Philadelphia in 1753. In order to make his information authoritative, he wrote in the Preface: "This short Account is given by the Person who commanded in this Affair, to prevent any Misrepresentation hereafter of what was done on these Voyages." Captain Charles Swaine was the Commander of the Philadelphia expedition.[1]

The Appendix was "an Extract from the Journal of a Voyage made from *Philadelphia* in 1753." This also appears to have been written by Swaine. He already had had experience in keeping a journal; he believed in accuracy, as shown in his earlier writing, and in such an important matter I believe he would have desired to make sure the information obtained was recorded properly. This conjecture is strengthened by a personal remark included in one of the accounts in the Journal. It was after the delayed return of the Captain and his exploring party, when they had been detained inland longer than they had anticipated, probably to the worriment of the crew remaining behind on the *Argo*. After recording the experiences in their proper sequence, the writer noted: ". . . the People expressed in their Countenances a universal Joy at seeing their Commander safe returned, which was a great Satisfaction to him, as it was an Instance more sincerely expressed than by formal Words expressed to him, that they looked on their Security to depend on his Preservation." This appears to have been written by the commander, recording his gratification of the pleasure shown by his men at his safe return.

Charles Swaine, after returning to Pennsylvania, served the Province as the Commissioner of Supplies for the English army, in the frontier section, during the French and Indian Wars. He also held numerous positions of trust in Easton and Northampton County. In September, 1943,[2] following earlier authorities, I had credited Thomas Jefferys with the authorship of *The Great Probability of a North-West Passage . . .*, although *An Account of a Voyage* was attributed to Charles Swaine in the same article. Shortly afterwards I came upon the internal proof of Swaine's authorship of *The Great Probablity . . .* above cited, so take this means of correcting my previous statement.

— Bertha Solis-Cohen

[1] Swaine's voyage is noticed at some length in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, Number 1299 (Philadelphia, November 15, 1753.) The *Argo* docked Sunday, 11 November, 1753.

The *Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, Number 571 :p. [2], Column 3 (Philadelphia, Thursday, November 15, 1753), contains the following paragraph: "Sunday last arrived here Capt. Swaine in the Schooner *Argo*, who was fitted out last spring on a discovery of the North-West Passage, but met with no success."

[2] *An American Search for the Northwest Passage*, in: *The Beaver* (Hudson's Bay Co. house organ) September, 1943.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Pietas et Gratulatio Collegii Cantabrigiensis apud Novanglos.

Bostoni-Massachusettensium typis J. Green & J. Russell. MDCCLXI [1762].

Collation: [a-d], B-Ee^2 (quarto in half sheets; Ee 2 blank); xiv p., 1 leaf, 106 p.

Of this collection of Greek, Latin and English poems by members or graduates of Harvard College, written for presentation to George III in honor of his accession to the throne, there appear to be at least four states. There are, in addition, two issues, one printed on ordinary, the other on fine paper.

The four states are derived from two factors: the spelling, in line 14 of page 24, of "peace distinguished," and, in line 14 of page 72, the substitution of the phrase "nec Avo videbat" for "videt haud Georgo."

In the "Errata" slip, pasted in the ordinary paper copies on the blank leaf following page 106, the statement is made that "in some copies" the reading "videt haud Georgo" is found. It is apparent that the substitution was made fairly early while the work was going through the press. This fact permits at least an attempt to relate the four states.

First state: Page 72, line 14, has the early reading "videt . . . " and on page 24, line 14, "peace distinguished."

Intermediate state A: On page 72, the later reading "nec Avo . . ." is given; on page 24, the earlier "peace distinguished."

Intermediate state B: On page 72 there occurs the earlier reading "videt . . ."; on page 24 the later "peac edistinguished."

Final state: On page 72, the reading "nec Avo . . ." is given; on page 24, "peace distinguished" appears as "peac edistinguished."

Evidently, in the course of going through the press, the letter in question dropped out, and was incorrectly reinserted. That the type had not been incorrectly set originally is suggested by the fact that the correct reading is found in copies which have the first reading "videt . . . ." Whether the letter dropped out before or after the "videt . . ." reading was altered, it is impossible to say.

While all speculation as to the relationship of these four states must take into consideration the element of chance involved in the gathering of the sheets, that the last represents the final state is logical, for this is the state found in the fine paper copies, which contain the "nec Avo . . ." reading, indicated by the "Errata" as the desired phrasing, and the incorrect "peac edistinguished." That the fine paper copies were put through the press after the ordinary issue, is, of course, in accordance with general printing practice.

In addition to containing the readings of the final state, the fine paper issue may be readily distinguished from the ordinary paper issue by the watermarks. The latter is watermarked with a fleur-de-lis and the initials IV (for Jean Villedary); the former has the elaborate coat of arms of Strasburg and the initials LVG, a variant of that reproduced as no. 406 by W. A. Churchill in his *Watermarks in Paper* (Amsterdam, 1935). Neither of Harvard's two fine paper copies contains the "Errata" slip, which is, however, present in all its copies of the ordinary issue.

Evans's suggestion that the book did not actually appear in 1761, inasmuch as the Corporation of Harvard did not vote its publication until 5 January 1762, is supported by the fact that in the *Boston Gazette* for 30 August 1762, the work is described as "this day published." The advertisement continues, "This Piece has been a considerable while printed: and a number of copies having been sent to England for the KING and ROYAL FAMILY, it was tho't proper to postpone the publishing of it here, till such time as it might be supposed the copies aforesaid had been presented." However, the work could have been printed in 1762 so that copies might reach England by the end of August. This advertisement clarifies the question regarding those copies elegantly bound and stamped with the British arms. That presented to George III is now in the British Museum, but the others, such as that in the Harvard College Library and that in the Brinley collection, were obviously destined for members of his family.

Thus, in its bibliographical aspects, the *Pietas* becomes of even greater interest than had already been provided by its distinguished typography, its literary content and its relationship to George III.

—JOHN ALDEN

Book Reviews

YALE UNIVERSITY. SCHOOL OF MEDICINE. YALE MEDICAL LIBRARY. HISTORICAL LIBRARY. *The Harvey Cushing Collection of Books and Manuscripts*. [ornament]. Schuman's, New York, 1943. xvi, 207 pp. 11 x 7¾ inches. (Publication No. 1, Historical Library, Yale Medical Library.)

Dr. Harvey Cushing was a distinguished modern collector of medical books. His persistence over a long period of years in bringing together one of the great, if not the greatest, collections of Vesaliana entitles him to this distinction.

The catalogue of his books is worthy to stand side by side with those of the great Osler Library, the Smith collection of arithmetics, the chemical library of Young, and like personal catalogues of recent times.

The catalogue is divided into five parts: 1. Manuscripts; 2. Orientalia; 3. Incunabula; 4. General works; and 5. Cushing memorabilia.

Those responsible for the publication of the catalogue did not follow out Dr. Cushing's request that only certain of his separate collections should be catalogued and published. This is a matter for regret as a compromise might have been made whereby these special classes could have been listed in divisions in the short-title catalogue.

A beginning along these lines was made by segregating the manuscripts, orientalia and incunabula, but under the heading of general works, arranged alphabetically by author, is found the cream of the doctor's interests. However, the great collection of Vesaliana has been published in separate form, under the title of *A Bio-Bibliography of Andreas Vesalius*, by Harvey Cushing, New York, 1943. Nevertheless, the argument still holds good that all the Vesaliana and related anatomical works should have been brought together in one section in the catalogue.

The Vesaliana as now listed, except the main author entries under Vesalius, require seventy-eight separate excursions through the catalogue to locate all the items and this does not include the pre- and post-Vesalian anatomists. Under these conditions, it is impossible to visualize or get a true

conception of this magnificent collection of works by and about the great anatomist.

The American and English imprints, early and late, including Boyle, Culpeper, Harvey, Jenner, Salmon, Willis and others; the Continental writers, including Paracelsus, Paré, Ryff and the miscellaneous sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books, all are lost in the section "General Works."

Classical texts and reference source material are side by side. It would have been better to have brought together works on bibliography, history and reference material, thus separating them from the texts.

Dr. Cushing considered his groups of manuscripts and incunabula as subsidiary to his special collections and gathered them to round out his library.

The incunabula, consisting of 135 texts in 168 editions, are not extensive when compared with the three large collections in medical libraries in the United States: in Boston, Philadelphia and Washington. Likewise it is not qualitatively high although it contains some pre-eminent items.

The reviewer was in close contact with Dr. Cushing during his residence in Boston prior to 1932 and was responsible for interesting the doctor in the purchase of incunabula by placing at his disposal a small group of medical items which were acquired by the doctor but left undisturbed for some time in the original packages.

The manuscript division enumerates sixty ancient, renaissance and modern works listed together to which should be added seventeen items in the orientalia division, making a total of seventy-seven in the library. The arrangement by author without classification brings together such authors as Sacro Bosco 1230 and Sampson 1759; Avicenna 980 and Bartlett 1804 and others. A segregation by periods would permit evaluation of the manuscripts at a glance, and be more useful to scholars.

The cataloguing of the manuscripts and orientalia is erratic, not in accordance with cataloguing practice, and in some cases misleading. English catch-titles are used for Latin collectanea; Latin surgical eighteenth-century diplomas are entered under diplomas instead of the recipient or the issuing authority; the Latin collectanea of Hieronymus Münzer is lost under the English entry "Medical Collectanea" without reference to Münzer; and the anonymous surgical work *Wundarzt-Ordnung* is entered under Regensburg, the place of writing, instead of the title. Four Arabic and Persian manuscripts are entered without title or author, when joint author entries are possible in all cases; the *Anatomie Mandchoue* is entered under

the sponsoring authority instead of the editors or title; and the Chinese entries are inconsistent.

Modern cataloguing practice prefers the better known form of Latinized names for author entries. The nationalization of names of author and printer, according to the practice of Arnold Klebs, is in direct contradiction to this rule and has produced many uncommon name forms. The bibliographer and scholar seem to be at variance in this matter. The substitution of no printer for anonymous printer or printer unknown cannot be understood as the books were certainly printed by some person.

A number of casual, unimportant items from the general library of Dr. Cushing should have been weeded out and not catalogued. Undoubtedly they were included by mistake as the doctor had dispersed his professional working library and did not intend any of it to be included in his historical collection.

In the present form of the catalogue, it is practically impossible to evaluate or get an idea of the scope of the Cushing library as a whole, except in size, or of its component parts. A subject index would have helped this situation somewhat but such an index was not furnished.

The catalogue will be used by booksellers who will use it to boost their wares by the annotation "Not in Cushing," as they have done with the Osler catalogue. It might be that Osler or Cushing did not consider the book worth-while for their libraries.

As a checklist of Dr. Cushing's library, the book has its uses, but it is hoped that in the not too far future a full annotated catalogue will be compiled of the more important books (except the Vesaliana, already published), based on the famous "Pink slips," a most valuable storehouse of information on medical history and medical bibliography.

JAMES F. BALLARD

BALLARD, JAMES F. *A Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts and Incunabula in the Boston Medical Library.* Boston, Privately Printed, 1944. xx, 246 pp., [1] leaf. 23 figs. 10¼ x 7½ inches. Edition of 400 copies. $7.50.

This new catalogue of the early manuscripts and incunabula now owned by the Boston Medical Library is a most welcome addition to the steadily growing number of printed catalogues of libraries and special collections in

this country. Now that American libraries have achieved such distinction that they need no longer look with over-jealous eyes upon the resources of European collections, it is self-evident that such catalogues as the present one are both eminently desirable and obviously essential. It can be confidently expected that other institutions will, when times are more favorable, follow the good example that has been set them, not only to satisfy their own self-esteem but also for the benefit of scholars throughout the world.

This collection, as it is set out in the Introduction, has been gathered together for the express purpose of "reproducing, as far as possible, a fifteenth-century physician's library." The choice of this objective is a very happy one and one that has been nearly achieved, as even a short perusal of the catalogue will indicate. Furthermore it lends uniformity and purpose to the collection as it now is and will assist materially in the selection of new additions which will surely be attracted to the Library by the appearance of Mr. Ballard's work.

The catalogue describes 726 items, of which 52 are manuscripts; five of these are of the thirteenth century, fifteen of the fourteenth, twenty-nine of the fifteenth, and three of the sixteenth. While the number of manuscripts is not very great (and would certainly have amounted to a larger total in the hypothetical library which the collection seeks to reconstruct), they all appear to be of more than passing interest. Since several of them are miscellaneous volumes, the total of texts represented in the Boston Medical Library is much larger than the mere numerical sequence indicates. There is doubtless much work to be done on such manuscripts as those entitled *Collectanea medica*, *Miscellanea medica*, and *Astronomica*.

A recent count which the reviewer undertook shows that the Boston Medical Library's collection of scientific incunabula is the third largest in North America, being exceeded in number only by the Huntington and Library of Congress totals. The importance of the collection is not, however, to be evaluated by a mere numerical count. Much more significant is the fact that in some 97 cases the copy in the Boston Medical Library is the only one available (apart from those in private hands) in this country, and in 86 instances but one other copy in a public institution is recorded. In short one-fourth of the incunabula in the Boston Medical Library may be truly described as "rare"; thus this collection is of far greater interest to the scholar than those which merely duplicate the holdings of other libraries. Nine of the books are either unique or are here described accurately for the first time. The catalogue lists remarkably little that is irrelevant, and for some groups (such as the Almanacs and Prognostica which, as

everyone knows, are exceptionally difficult to find) the collection may be specially commended. For the non-scientific reader, a number of unusual Classics should be of interest.

As for the catalogue itself, it is of handy format, easy to read, and admirably arranged. The manuscripts and printed books have been kept separate but whenever the Library possessed the text in both forms, cross-references call attention to this fact. The work is further provided with concordances to the standard bibliographical works of Klebs, Osler and Stillwell, and includes a number of other indices. Though the vexed question as to whether medieval last names are genuine surnames or merely placenames has led the compiler into some inconsistencies, there are a sufficient number of cross-references to enable the reader to find quickly and easily the information he seeks.

While misprints are inevitable in works of this sort, the present volume seems to have rather more than its share. There are, in addition, a considerable number of cases where it is apparent that more consideration should have been given to the title of a book. For example (no. 677), the well-known work by Thucydides is called "De belli Poloponnesiaci" [*sic*] which should certainly read either "De bello Peloponnesiaco" or "Historia belli Peloponnesiaci." Such titles as "Magistralis composito astrolabo" (p. 63), "De sententiae" (no. 374), "De sex aetatibus hominus" (no. 402) and "De salute anima" (no. 616) may annoy others besides the purist.

In the *Index of Names* there are similar slips and the names of a number of former owners are not included; occasionally the strict alphabetical sequence has been violated. Poor Johann Engel fares rather badly here. Under this name he is credited with but one book (no. 114), under that of Johannes Angeli two books are cited (nos. 89 and 114), while for Johannes Angelus two other works are noted (nos. 540 and 580). It should here be pointed out, I think, that Mr. Ballard probably included no. 580 under Johannes Angelus on the strength of the entry in the *Second Census* (p. 987), which in turn seems to follow the British Museum Catalogue (BMC VII: 1035). The translation of Ptolemy was, of course, made by Jacobus Angelus (Jacopo d'Angiolo of Scarperia near Florence), a pupil of Manuel Chrysoloras, and not by Johannes Angelus, the astronomer from Aichach in Bavaria. In the *Index of Printers* one finds Amberbach for Amerbach. With a little more care expended on the proofreading, many of these faults would doubtless have been corrected including the major one which has been eliminated by means of a cancel.

However unfortunate it may be that these errors have crept into Mr. Ballard's book, it is hardly likely that they will interfere with the usefulness of the work. All libraries interested in medieval science will find this catalogue of the early volumes available for consultation at the Boston Medical Library a very necessary book of reference for their shelves.

CURT F. BÜHLER

GALLATIN, A. E. *Sir Max Beerbohm: Bibliographical Notes.* By A. E. Gallatin. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts. 1944. xvi, 121 pp. 10 plates. 9¼ x 6⅛ inches. Price $7.50. (Four hundred copies printed by D. B. Updike, The Merrymount Press. Boston, in April, 1944).

Probably no remark ever made about a living author has been so widely quoted as George Bernard Shaw's introduction to readers of *The Saturday Review* of his successor as dramatic critic on that paper: "The younger generation is knocking at the door, and as I open it there steps spritely in the incomparable Max" (21 May, 1898). Time has healed what disparity there then was between the years of the two men; Mr. Shaw has never again hinted that he was possibly more of an age than for all time, and his junior even now belongs to those who look ahead. "We are told on high authority, from both sides of the Atlantic," said the incomparable Max in a Rede Lecture at Cambridge in 1943, "that the present century is to be the Century of the Common Man. We are all of us to go down on our knees and clasp our hands and raise our eyes and worship the Common Man. I am not a learned theologian, but I think I am right in saying that this religion has at least the hall-mark of novelty—has never before been propagated, even in the East, from which so many religions have sprung. . . . '*This*,' they say, 'is to be the Century of the Common Man.' I like to think that on the morning of January the first, in the year 2000, mankind will be free to unclasp its hands and rise from its knees and look about for some other, and perhaps more rational, form of faith." Was there ever heard so flippant, so unflinching, so unblushing, so hopeful a voice of the eternally young?

Max Beerbohm himself has always been an uncommon man. In 1896 he admitted that he was "outmoded." "I belong to the Beardsley Period," he wrote, when he collected his fugitive essays as *The Works of Max Beerbohm*, and had his friend John Lane supply a definitive ten-page bibliog-

raphy for the volume. The author was twenty-four, but he had already been remarkably prolific. Never before was a first book equipped with a bibliography — still unsuperseded as far as it goes. Other lists of both writings and caricatures have followed, and now, when the author-artist is seventy-three, there appears a full-length catalogue of his work by an enthusiastic American admirer.

Mr. Gallatin's book is just what it modestly claims to be — "bibliographical notes," rather than a formal, full-dress bibliography or even a utilitarian finding-list. It is really a descriptive catalogue prepared from the compiler's own distinguished collection. Therefore, this list does not claim to be definitive or complete, and it would be beside the point to call attention to omissions, of which there are a few — for instance, among editions of *Zuleika Dobson*. What is more important is that Mr. Gallatin has called attention to a vast amount of scattered material, some of it obscure and difficult of access.

The task of producing such an inventory was not a simple one. About books and articles and albums of caricatures the course was easy. But much of what the ambidextrous Max has produced belongs — even if it should not — to the class of ephemera, short pieces and single caricatures, buried in the "unilluminable catacombs" of rare, defunct, or obscure periodicals, and collected but seldom. The search for such items, as Mr. Gallatin generously admits, required the labors of many explorers. Here in this book one finds descriptions not only of first and other editions of Beerbohm's literary and artistic work, but also of "Uncollected and Unpublished Writings," "Uncollected and Unpublished Caricatures," "The Plays," "Catalogues of Exhibitions of Caricatures," and "Maxiana" (i. e., reprints of essays and stories in anthologies, reproductions of cartoons, etc.), as well as "Studies and Notes on Max Beerbohm."

Some sticklers for bibliographical principle, however, may be inclined to question Mr. Gallatin's classification of books as "First Editions," "Other Editions," and "Unauthorized Editions" — particularly when two of the three booklets listed in the last category are indubitably firsts, and the third a collection in book form of parodies originally published in a periodical, and, hence, as true a first edition as *The Works* (1896) and other volumes listed among "First Editions." Not all bibliographers have so nice a conscience about the ethics of piracy.

Others will insist that the only true first edition is the first printing of a work, however brief, whether in periodical or book. Not always will they find such first printings listed by Mr. Gallatin or even referred to, if a

given essay or sketch was later collected to form part of a volume. For example, they will still need to consult John Lane's bibliography to *The Works* for references to the first printings of the essays which make up this book.

Some will miss cross-references in the descriptive notes or wish for fuller information. There is nothing anywhere in this bibliography to tell the neophyte that (33) *A Defence of Cosmetics*, . . . 1922, is identical with *The Pervasion of Rouge*, an essay which appeared in *The Works* (1896) and originally in *The Yellow Book*, Volume I (April, 1894), pp. 65-82. Some might like to know of the "Catalogues of Exhibitions" that for the most part the caricatures listed in (F) were published as *Fifty Caricatures* (1913); those in (G) as *A Survey* (1921); those in (H) as *Rossetti and His Circle* (1921).

Still others may be disappointed and confused because, in cataloguing caricatures, Mr. Gallatin has used simply the personal name of the subject or a conveniently brief title rather than the inimitable captions of the artist himself. Such a critic will search in vain for familiar titles to old favorites in *The Poets' Corner* (1904), for example, like "Robert Browning, Taking Tea with the Browning Society," or "Mr. Tennyson, Reading *In Memoriam* to His Sovereign." These caricatures are identified in this bibliography merely as "Browning" and "Tennyson" (p. 6). He may not at first recognize in *Fifty Caricatures* (1913) "The Grave Misgivings of the Nineteenth Century and the Wicked Amusement of the Eighteenth, in Watching the Progress (or Whatever It Is) of the Twentieth," if he sees the drawing listed simply as "The Twentieth Century" (p. 9). And his patience may fail him when he seeks vainly under *A Survey* (1921) for that series of ironic masterpieces entitled "The Future as Beheld by the Eighteenth Century, . . . the Nineteenth Century, . . . [and] the Twentieth Century," when he finds that in the descriptive note, after mentioning caricatures of persons, the bibliographer simply adds that "there are other caricatures, not of personages" (p. 11). Perhaps in the case of *The Second Childhood of John Bull* or of *Rossetti and His Circle* considerations of space made anything but a brief description of each caricature impossible. But it would not have increased the bulk of this volume greatly had the compiler supplied full and complete titles for drawings, whether they were reproduced in familiar albums or not.

Finally, those who insisted upon usefulness for the volume might wish for a better index. There is merely an Index of Names, none of titles, and even here complete coördination is lacking. Alfred Harmsworth and Lord

Northcliffe appear as separate persons, as do Solomon Eagle and J. C. Squire.

But all of these objections would no doubt be the caviling of one who lives on less intimate terms with his Beerbohm than does Mr. Gallatin. His book will be of great interest to collectors and admirers of Max, and will have to be taken into account by any future bibliographer of this author-artist. The volume is handsomely printed by D. B. Updike at the Merrymount Press in an edition of only 400 copies, and illustrated by ten plates, which, for the most part, are hitherto unpublished caricatures and other drawings from the compiler's collection.

KARL J. HOLZKNECHT

RUSSO, ANTHONY J. and DOROTHY R. RUSSO. *A Bibliography of James Whitcomb Riley* by Anthony J. Russo and Dorothy R. Russo. [Illus.] [rule] Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis. 1944. [xxii], 351 pp. frontispiece (portrait), illustrations. 9½ x 6¼ inches. Title-page in black and red. Privately printed.

Every author presents special problems to the bibliographer. James Whitcomb Riley, with his five decades of magazine and newspaper appearance, his frequent use of pseudonyms, his reissue of poems under different names, has posed special difficulties for Mr. and Mrs. Russo. The collected edition of Riley, edited by his nephew Edmund H. Eitel in 1913, just before the poet's death, had printed over twenty-six hundred pages of his writing, much then put in book form for the first time. The Russo bibliography, using the first-line index for a measuring stick, identifies 370 poems or variations of poems not in the Eitel index.

About eleven hundred poems and letters had been printed in periodicals and newspapers, over five hundred in the Indianapolis *Journal* alone, and contributions are recorded from over fifty other daily papers and thirty periodicals. To make the bibliographers' problem more difficult, scores of these were anonymous or pseudonymous. Mr. Riley apparently liked to play with his public by testing their appreciation under various guises. This fact has made it necessary for the editors to supply a list of "Attributions," not by Riley, the verification of which has posed a most difficult problem of sifting testimony, which they have carefully met and reported in detail.

No useful feature of bibliography-making seems to have been omitted in this volume of 374 pages—first editions, including books, ephemeral publications; reprint editions, including books and pamphlets, sheet music, and

collected work; attributions; Rileyana; index to first lines; and an index of thirty-eight double-column pages with every reference for which the most diligent reader could ask. The description of first editions seems complete and exact in every particular and might well serve as number one model for such records. The title-pages of many of the "firsts" have been photographed. How useful this can be is shown by the illustration where the three variant bindings of *Poems Here at Home* are compared, or the four variants of *Neghborly* [sic] *Poems*.

The expert Riley collector will turn with special interest to the full description of *The Old Swimmin'-Hole*, with careful comparison to the facsimiles, and to the complete information about *The Boss Girl*, Riley's second book, the story of which is one of the most complicated in modern American firsts.

The Lakeside Press with impeccable taste and care to every detail has produced the volume for the Indiana Historical Society. The typography, paper and printing are examples of the best of recent bibliographies.

That a book of this usefulness could have been carried forward so perfectly in every editorial and production detail, has been due to the generous grant of the Lilly Endowment, Inc., and this debt which every user of the book will echo is acknowledged in the dedication "To Josiah K. Lilly, Jr., whose interest has made possible the preparation of this book."

FREDERIC G. MELCHER

American Book-Prices Current. A Record of the Books, Manuscripts, Autographs and Maps Sold in the Principal Auction Rooms of the United States during the Season 1943 [device] *1944*. Edited by Colton Storm. New York, R. R. Bowker Co., 1944. lvi, 680 pp. 8¾ x 6½ inches.

United States Cumulative Book Auction Records, 1943-44. Edited by S. R. Shapiro. The 1943-1944 volume of American book auction prices, reporting all books, pamphlets, manuscripts, periodicals, and autographs selling in American auction rooms for $3.00 or more. This volume is the fourth in the five-year series that will culminate in the 1940-1945, five year cumulation. New York, Want List, 1944. xl, 558 pp. 11 x 8 inches.

In 1895, Luther Samuel Livingston, aware of the unsatisfactory condition of book auction records in the United States, began the publication of *American Book-Prices Current*. Half a century later his successors, last

year, appropriately marked the occasion with the Fiftieth Annual Volume of the series.

The fact that, for fifty unbroken years, an annual volume of book auction prices has appeared is, in itself, a testament to the soundness of Livingston's idea. Indeed, the field has been fruitful enough to prompt the publication of a rival volume.

Included in the current volume of *American Book-Prices Current* are several retrospective articles which consider various aspects of the last half century of book auctions and their records. Dr. Hugo Victor Paltsits describes *The Beginning of American Book Auction Records During the First Quarter Century*. His article contains a felicitous tribute to Livingston and gives a brief, but detailed, history of the publication which he founded. Jacob Blanck, in his account of *Some Famous Auctions and Auctioneers*, will stir the recollections, happily, we hope, of many a present-day collector. In *A Half-Century of Rare Book Prices*, Colton Storm discusses that most mercurial aspect of book collecting. His final conclusion is that ". . . Prices of rare books have risen materially . . . particularly . . . genuinely rare books—of which there are relatively few. The books of momentary popular interest have jumped about madly with no rhyme and little reason. I wonder whether the same conclusion will be reached in the volume . . . for 1995; probably a similar state of affairs will exist, for we don't seem to change much. We just become accustomed to paying more for what we get."

Both Mr. Storm and Mr. Shapiro present their summaries of the season, although the volumes do not include identical periods and sales. The former includes 102 sales during the period from June 24, 1943, to June 13, 1944, the latter, 119 sales from June 6, 1943, to May 31, 1944. The *American Book-Prices Current* includes only items selling for $5 or more, while the *United States Cumulative Book Auction Records* sets the lower limit at $3. In this connection, it is interesting to note that some items selling well above the five-dollar limit have auction records below that price. For example, the 1687 edition of Dryden's *The Hind and the Panther* sold at $18 as is noted in both publications, but only the *United States Cumulative Book Auction Records* notes another copy sold at $4. On items below $20, sales-records below $5 are not uncommon. The records of these are even more important on the items that sell only occasionally above the $5 mark. Neither publication covers all sales of the season. The *American Book-Prices Current* does not include any sales of the American Book Auction, a Freeman sale held in July 1943 and Parke-Bernet no. 485; the *United States Cumulative Book Auction Records* omits the Kende sale of May 1944.

There are also differences in the arrangement of the two volumes. The *American Book-Prices Current* records sales of manuscripts and letters separately from printed materials. The order of arrangement under one author varies. The *American Book-Prices Current* lists various editions chronologically under the title; the *United States Cumulative Book Auction Records* groups them by editor or translator. Names such as DuCamp, DuBartas, DuHalde, are entered as written in the *United States Cumulative Book Auction Records;* the *American Book-Prices Current* omits the prefix in alphabetizing. *Bibliographical Essays in Honor of Wilberforce Eames* is entered under *Eames* in the *United States Cumulative Book Auction Records;* under *Bibliographical* in the *American Book-Prices Current. Abrege de L'Historie d' Angleterre* is entered under the title in the *United States Cumulative Book Auction Records* but under *M., Mr.* in the *American Book-Prices Current.* Neither work has a cross-reference.

Typographically the *American Book-Prices Current* is not only more attractive but far easier to use. The cumulative feature of its rival promises greater ease of reference over a period of years.

Each not only complements the other in several respects but offers a spur which should benefit the readers of both.

FRED B. ROTHMAN
LEWIS F. THOMPSON

SONNECK, OSCAR GEORGE THEODORE AND WILLIAM TREAT UPTON. *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music [18th century]* by Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, Chief of the Division of Music, 1902-1917; Revised and enlarged by William Treat Upton. The Library of Congress, Music Division, 1945. [Washington, Government Printing Office] xvi, 617 pp. 9¼″ x 5¾″. Title-page enclosed in rule and ornamental border. Price $1.75.

The publication of a Library of Congress bibliography is always an important event. Works of this kind from the Library's Music Division, compiled by Oscar Sonneck himself, or with his aid, have become standard reference books and historical aids in European libraries as well as in those of our own country. The book under review differs from most of the Library of Congress bibliographies in that it is not restricted to the holdings of our national library. It attempts to cover the entire known field, including even the titles for which extant copies cannot be located, but for

which we have evidence of publication, usually in the form of a newspaper advertisement.

That the Government of the United States should concern itself with the printing of a bibliography of secular American musical compositions and books is in itself a significant fact, a sign of the times when the place of the fine arts in our cultural life and in our historical development is becoming more generally recognized. Of course, a comparison with the monumental works of Sabin or Evans reveals the relatively humble rôle played by these early American musical products. This interest in American musical life is comparatively recent, at any rate so far as thorough systematic research and bibliographical recording is concerned. Sonneck gave it a decided impetus, although his bibliography recorded only secular music. The recording of the psalm and hymn tune books was undertaken by James Warrington (1898) and Frank J. Metcalf (1917). Sonneck's intense interest in the subject had much to do with his appointment by Dr. Herbert Putnam as chief of the newly organized or reorganized Music Division of the Library of Congress in 1902. It is indicative of the comparatively meager general interest in this special field of American history at that time, that Sonneck's book, though ready for the press in 1902, found no publisher. The enthusiastic bibliographer was constrained to have it printed in Washington at his own expense in 1905.

A comparison of the original Sonneck bibliography with the new work compiled by Mr. William Treat Upton is again an indication of how studies in this field have advanced. The first edition was a book of 194 pages, and it listed 1304 titles located by Sonneck in seventeen libraries and two private collections. Mr. Upton's book runs to 617 pages and lists 3533 titles, much more than twice as many as Sonneck. Mr. Upton extended his search to ten additional libraries and ten private collections.

The entries are by title, which is the only possible way of bringing order into these miscellaneous publications, which too often lack an author name and frequently make incorrect attributions. A special *List of Composers* enables the user to survey all the works of a given composer under his own name. This index incorporates the valuable biographical sketches which Sonneck had inserted in his single general index, and in a number of instances emends the Sonneck sketches or adds to them information derived from later research.

Those who work much with musical publications know how exasperating is the custom of music publishers of omitting dates from their products.

Sonneck had been fairly successful in approximating the dates of most of his entries, basing his conjectures on publishers' addresses or on contemporary newspaper announcements. In some instances Mr. Upton has been able to correct Sonneck's dates or to assign narrower limits.

The new edition has one definite improvement. One hundred and twenty-nine pages are devoted to special lists or indexes. They are: *List of Articles and Essays Relating to Music, List of Composers, List of Songsters, List of First Lines, List of American Patriotic Music, List of Opera Librettos, Index of Publishers, Printers and Engravers* [with addresses and dates], and a *General Index*. No one who has to find his way in this heterogeneous material will fail to acknowledge with gratitude the very great help which such special indexes give. Scattered through the *General Index* are a number of general heads such as Violin music, Pianoforte music, Flute music, Instruction books, Collections of music, Dances, Marches, Operas, Overtures, Sonatas and the like. These, too, greatly enhance the usefulness of the bibliography and will be warmly welcomed.

Loyal Brooklynites will be thrilled to find among the *Twenty-four American Country Dances as danced by the British during their winter quarters at Philadelphia, New York and Charles Town.* Collected by Mr. Cantelo Musician at Bath where they are now dancing for the first time in Britain . . . London, 1785, the piece entitled *The Belles about the Flat Bush — (a Village on Long Island so called)*.

The U. S. Government Printing Office is to be congratulated upon the attractive appearance of the book both as to binding and typography. It is regrettable that the exigencies of a war period required the use of a poorer quality of paper than one might have wished for a book of this character. And still more to be regretted is the fact that the book was printed in a comparatively small edition, which is likely to be exhausted long before the work has reached the limits of its usefulness or of the demand which is sure to arise.

Otto Kinkeldey

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